

A Study of
PHONOLOGY & VOCABULARY
OF THE ASSAMESE LANGUAGE

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PREFACE

A correct understanding of the Assamese language cannot lead to parochialism. For, this language is not an indigenous growth. It was imported to this province by people coming from different parts of Northern India, right from Kāshmir to Mithilā, at different periods. The local dialects that prevailed here from time immemorial had free draughts of the imported vocabulary but contributed very little to the building up of the new language. The process began only two thousand years ago. Different speeches of Indo-European origin blended in a new pattern and developed a variety of grammatical forms that enabled the speaker to express his ideas with perspicuity. Among the N. I. A. languages Assamese is peculiarly rich in formative affixes giving the speakers a wide berth to express themselves in delicate shades of difference.

The indigenous people who were attracted to this new language gave many a twist to its phonology. Words of pure Sanskṛt origin underwent such circuitous metamorphosis in the mouths of a composite population that scholars would fain relegate them to non-Aryan obscurity. The language abounds in such distorted Sanskṛt words. Many of these have been straightened in this book along new lines of phonetic change that have been brought to light. I have tried to dispel all the haziness and confusion that have been enshrouding the earliest part of Assam's history for centuries and for which the two words 'Prāgjyotiṣ' and 'Kāmarūpa' are solely responsible.

My first attempt at a philological study of the Assamese language was made in 1912 when I produced the *Asamiyā Bhāṣār Maulik Bicār*, of not more than 100 pages. A revised and enlarged edition of the same was published in 1933.

My earnest hope is that the younger generation of admirers of the Assamese language will pursue the research which was initiated half a century ago. Study of language is a noble diversion for any educated person. It widens the periphery of our knowledge and sympathy and is also a source of unsullied pleasure.

Jorhat,

Devananda Bharali.

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Corrigenda

Page	Column	Lines	Read	In place of
19	1	13	ডহৰ	ডেহৰ
19	1	14	চোঁচৰ	চাঁচৰ
19	1	17	পোৱাল	পেৱাল
38	1	17	অক্ষ	অক্ষ
45	...	21	লোঁড়া	লেউৰা
53	2	12	দেছোৱালী	দেচুৱালী
63	1	4	কংকতী	কংকটী
63	2	16	চোতাল	চেতাল
63	1	19	তকু	তকু
63	1	23	ধৰ্ম	বৰ্ম
65	1	24	hang	perpendicular
69	1	15	সাক্ষৰ্দী	সন্ধৰ্দী
70	2	6	আহিব	আহিৰ
70	2	12	উকলি	উৰলী
73	1	3	ৰক্ত	ৰক্ত
84	1	29	ছৰছ	ছৱছ
90	2	30	ভাগৰ	ভাগৱ
56	2	21	ফিবিঙ্গতি	ফিবঞ্জতি

INTRODUCTION

ORIGIN OF THE WORDS ĀSSĀM, ASAM, AXAM, ĀHOM, etc.

1. From the 'Buranjis', that is, historical chronicles maintained from an early period in the courts of the Ahom kings of Assam, as well as from the Vaishnavie literature of the sixteenth century and downwards it is clear that the terms 'āsām', 'asam' and 'axam' were used to denote the people who are to-day known as 'Āhom'. They are the Shāns of Upper Burmah, a branch of the great Tāi or Thāi race of Southern China. A band of these people under the leadership of Sukaphā entered the valley of the Brahmaputra from the North-East corner with a view to establish a kingdom in the beginning of the thirteenth century.

About the same time another band of these people migrated towards the South-East and colonised the country which is to-day known as Thāiland. According to P. N. Bose, author of the 'Indian Colony of Siam', the Hindu colonists who had settled there long before the arrival of these Shān people changed the word Shān to Shyām to accommodate it to the colour of the people which was black. The kingdom which the Shāns established here was accordingly called 'Shyāmarāstra' (kingdom of the black people). Shyāmarāstra was shortened to 'Siam' by which name the country came to be known afterwards. The people came to be known as 'Shyām' (a compromise between Shyām and Shān), a term which was applied also to their cousins in

the Assam valley, the Ahoms as well as to all the sub-races of the Tai family who entered Assam from North Burma in the wake of Sukaphā such as the Fakials, the Hkāmptis, the Aitonias and the Turungs. Educated persons of these tribes to-day use the word 'Shām' as a patronymic after their names.

When the Muhammedan rulers of Bengal came to be interested in this country and to look upon it with covetous eyes they called this country 'Ashām-ki-mulk', that is, 'the country of the Shāms', 'Ashām' being the plural form of 'Shām'.* This plural form of the word came to be in vogue in place of the singular form 'Shām'. Ashām changed to Āsām, axam, āhom and 'asam' from which we get the word 'asamiyā'. The land got its name from the people as is usually the case.

PRĀGJYOTIŚPURA

2. To any careful reader of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana it is apparent that the Prāgjyotiśpura mentioned in these epics lay to the north of Indraprastha (modern Delhi). In the Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata the task of realising tributes from the kings reigning in territories to the north was assigned to Arjuna. Going northward Arjuna first entered Kālakuta which was due north of Hasti-

* Compare the following pairs of Persian words:—

Singular	Plural
samar, a fruit	asmār, fruits
sabab, furniture	asbāb, furnitures
khabar, a news	akhbār, many news
Turk, one Turk	Atrāk, many Turks.

nāpur, near about Dehradun. Defeating the king of that place he went north-west to Shakala, modern Sialkot. Being reinforced with help from these two places Arjuna attacked Bhagadutta of Prāgjyotiṣpura. After realising tribute from him Arjuna entered Kashmir. Proceeding further north Arjuna reached the famous Manas 'sarovar'. From there Arjuna returned to the capital.

His brother Bhima was deputed to realise tribute from the eastern countries. After realising tributes from the kings of Kāsi, Magadha and Anga, his further progress was stopped by the Lauhitya sea, that is, the vast estuary of the Brahmaputra and the Ganges. This formed the eastern boundary of Bhāratavarṣa at that time.

It is also stated in the *Sabhāparva* of the epic that the kings who were invited to the Rājasuya Yajna of the Pāndavas held in Indraprastha entered that city by the gates which opened towards the direction from which they came. Thus, the kings of Kāsi and Magadha entered by the eastern gate; Vibhiṣana who came from Ceylon entered by the southern gate; those coming from the western states entered by the western gate; and Bhagadutta of Prāgjyotiṣpura entered by the northern gate. This minor incident conclusively proves that at the time that the *Mahābhārata* was written Prāgjyotiṣpura lay to the north of Delhi and not in Assam.

In the *Aswamedha* parva of the same epic it is stated that the sacrificial horse after crossing Trigarta entered the country of Prāgjyotisa. Trigarta was far to the North-West of Delhi, beyond the Beas in

the Kangra valley. This is another proof that Prāgjyotiṣpura was near Kashmir at that time.

Bhagadutta had his capital at Prāgjyotiṣpura; but he ruled over a wide rugged country. His influence spread far and wide from the frontiers of Persia to those of China. That is why we find the writer of the Mahābhārata extoling him as surrounded by Chinese, Kirāti and Yavana soldiers.

3. The Mahābhārata is supported by the other epic Rāmāyana in locating Prāgjyotiṣpura in the north-west region. It describes how Sugriva, King of the Monkeys, deputed his spies to many countries in different directions to search and find out Sītā. The poet took the advantage to give the reader an idea of geography at that time. According to him Prāgjyotiṣpura of Naraka lay to the north-west (Vāyu angle, Vide Rāmāyana, Kiskindhyā Kānda, Bombay edition).

There is another reference to Prāgjyotiṣpura in the Rāmāyana (Ādi parva—35-6). There it is stated that Amurtaraja, grandson of Brahmā of the Hindu Trinity founded the town Prāgjyotiṣpura. This must be a very ancient legend as it related to God Brahmā. The town referred to here must be the Prāgjyotiṣpura of N.-W. India. For, the qualifying adjective 'Dharmāranya-samipastha' means that Prāgjyotiṣpura was near Dharmāranya which according to the Skanda Purāna lay to the North-west of Ayodhyā. Rāma visited Dharmāranya as a place of pilgrimage under the guidance of Vashistha. Rāma first went towards the north and then wended his way to the west and reached Dharmāranya after

ten days march (Skanda Purāna, Brāhma khanda). Dharmāranya is very far away from Girivraja in South Bihar.

The Purānas on the other hand place Prāgjyotiṣpura in the east. The Purānas according to all authorities were written, rather compiled, at a much later date than the epics. Although ancient traditions were compiled into the original Purānas at a pretty early age, later historical facts were added from time to time, sometimes in a prophetic guise, down to the fourth century A.D. Harivamsa considered to be one of the earliest of the Purānas calls Naraka a 'নেশ্বত' —a demon of the South-western region—a direction diametrically opposite to Assam.

The Mārkandeya Purāna which places Prāgjyotiṣpura in the east belongs to the fourth century A.D. Bharata's Natya Shastra which according to Keith was written in the third century A.D. also mentions Prāgjyotiṣa as an eastern country. Poet Kālidāsa of the fifth century also places Prāgjyotiṣpura in the east on the bank of the Lauhitya.

The question poses itself, how to reconcile these two opposite views. It will not be right to assume that the writers of the epics jointly made a mistake when their statements as to the position of the other countries, such as Kāsi, Anga, Vanga, Kosala, Dwārāvati etc. were so correct. Nor can we dismiss the statements in the Purānas and of Kālidāsa.

4. The question is easily answered if we do not forget the fact that the migration of people from one part of India to another part and sometimes to outside India took place rather very frequently in an-

cient times, due to political upheavals, religious persecutions, famines and other causes. In fact the history of Hindu India is one chapter of constant change of dynasties and of the seat of paramountcy. Old empires tumbled down and others arose in unexpected quarters. In the first century of the Christian era the fierce Kushans overthrew the Shakas and the Parthians and established under Kanishka an empire extending from Kabul to Kāsi, with headquarters at Peshwar. Many independent princes of North-West India had to flee from their countries with many of their followers in order to escape subjection, humiliation and other atrocities. They generally went to the East. "Assam lay on the high way for emigrants from Northern India to the Far East"—(Gait's History of Assam, page 14). According to R. C. Mazumder, author of 'Indo-Aryan colonies in the Far East' the land route lay over Assam and Manipur. It is very improbable that some of these emigrants had not settled down in Assam. It is therefore most probable that due to some political or other disturbances, a prince of North-Western India who claimed to be a scion of the legendary Bhagadutta of Mahābhārata fame of old Prāgjyotiṣpura moved eastward with his retinue and colonised the country to the east of the Karatoya which was then inhabited by several small tribes.

These new people came to be known as 'Prāgjyotiṣah', that is, people coming from Prāgjyotiṣapura of N.-W.-India. They afterwards became masters of a territory which became famous as Prāgjyotiṣa after the name of the people. With the

name Prāgjyotiṣa all the traditions of Naraka and Bhagadutta were transferred to Assam. It is no wonder therefore that all works written or recast after this migration should place Prāgjyotiṣa in north-east India. Conversely, all works where Prāgjyotiṣa is mentioned as a place in eastern India were written after this migration, an event which we think took place within a century before or after Christ. Such a migration is supported by linguistic evidence as shown in the next chapter.

[One may be curious to know where the old Prāgjyotiṣpura as mentioned in the epics might be. As stated above it was situated somewhere between Punjab and Kashmir. Many old sites of townships have been destroyed by Man and Nature and efaced from the earth. Some have also changed their names, from time to time. The Moslem rulers who held the country under subjection for more than six hundred years changed the names of many old cities by substituting Persian names for the original Sanskrit ones, while retaining the sense of the former names in some cases. Prāgjyotiṣpura being a very long name was first shortened to 'Jyotiṣpur' which when Persianised becomes 'Nurpur'; 'nur' or 'noor' being the Persian word for 'jyotiṣ' or light. At present a town by the name 'Nurpur' exists in north Punjab on the border of Kashmir, about twenty miles to the east of Pathankote. Parallel to the two Prāgjyotiṣpurs of east and west there are also two Lakhimpurs, one being in the Jammu valley and the other in eastern Assam. Research on the lines of tradition, culture and language in these areas may

yield rich dividend. It may be stated here that while in N.-W. India the name Prāgjyotiṣa stood for a capital city, in Assam it denoted a district or a region and not a town].

KĀMARŪPA.

5. The two great epics, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata make no mention of a Kāmarupa kingdom, although we find in the latter the names of Karatoyā and the Lauhitya in the list of sacred rivers enumerated by Sanjaya to Dhritarāstra. Pānini, the celebrated grammarian of the sixth century B.C., mentions Kosala, Kāsi, Magadha and Kalinga among the Eastern Janapadas, but not Kāmarūpa. Among the towns of Eastern India he mentions Gauḍapura (Pānini Sutra-vi-2-100) identified with Malda of North Bengal. The Arthashāstra of Kautilya written about 310 B.C. while discussing about good elephants stated that the best are available in Anga, Kalinga and further east. According to Kautilya the best Agaru (Agallochum resin) of black colour was available from Pāra-Lauhitya, a country across the Lauhitya and identified by the commentator with Kāmarūpa of a later age. The vast empire of the great Asoka extending from Kabul to the Karatoyā in the third century before Christ did not include Kāmarūpa, simply because it did not exist.

The earliest authentic reference to the Kingdom of Kāmarūpa is to be found in the inscriptions on the pillar of Asoka of Allahabad glorifying the achievements of Samudra-Gupta (c.350 A.D.) as fol-

lows:—“Whose commands were fully gratified by payment of taxes and execution of his orders by the frontier kings of Samatata, Davaka, Kāmarupa, Nepal and other countries.* The kingdom of Kāmarupa has been mentioned by Kālidāsa (6th century A.D.) in his ‘Raghuvamsam’ and in several of the Purānas. But these works were written after the beginning of the Christian era. The Manjusri Mula-kalpa describes Kāmarupa as a country lying near the Himalayas. The date of Manjusri Mulakalpa is c.800 A.D. according to Jayaswal and V. S. Agrawala.

It can therefore be safely affirmed that the kingdom of Kāmarūpa came into being sometime between the reigning periods of the two great monarchs, viz., Asoka Maurya and Samudra Gupta, that is, around the beginning of the Christian era.

6. The name ‘Kāmarūpa’ attached to this newly established kingdom is remarkable and it also presents a problem. It is very rare to find a similar name for a place. We may leave out of account the mythological derivation according to which Kāmadeva, the god of Love was restored to his former ‘rūpa’ or body by Lord Shiva after he had been burnt to ashes by an angry look. Other kingdoms or states of India were named after the names of the tribes that inhabited them, such as, Anga, Magadha, Odra, Vāhlika, Kamboja, Āryavarta etc. Countries were also named according to the nature of the surface, such as, Samatata, Trigarta, Bahu-

* R. C. Dutt's History of Ancient Civilisation of India.

garta, etc.; and also after the names or number of rivers flowing through or past them; such as, Sindhu, Pāra-Lauhitya, Tirhoot (Trisrota), Punjab. Sometimes, rather very often, places are named after the name of the mother country from which people came and colonised there; such as, Āyuthiyā (in Thāiland) after Ayodhyā; Madurā in South India after Mathurā of N. India and so probably Madras of S. India from Madra near the Himalayas, Dakshin Kosala after Kosala of N. India; not to speak of New York, New Jersy, New S. Wales etc. The name 'Kāmarupa' should fall under one of the above categories.

In the time of Pānini and after there were towns in North West India ending in 'rūpya' such as Shai-varūpya, Shivarūpya, Vṛkarūpya. So it is quite possible that there was a town named 'Kāmarūpya' too. There was actually a town named 'Kāma-prastha' along with other towns like Kundaprastha, Indraprastha, Suvarnaprastha etc. as can be gathered from the Ganapātha of Pānini commented by Kāshikā. With the people migrating from the old site of Prāgjyotiṣpura, mentioned above, many people from the neighbouring towns and villages including the supposed 'Kāmarūpya' or the actual Kāma-prastha, also migrated to Assam and settled close to each other and gave to their colonies the names 'Prāgjyotiṣha' and 'Kāmarūpya'.*

* Other Hindu settlers from N.W. India came and colonised other parts of Assam such as, North Lakhimpur and Sadiya. Ruins of an extensive fort, 24 miles to the north of Sadiya beside the river Kundil, are believed to have once been the capital of King Bhishmaka. But Bhishmaka

7. So there were two states side by side colonised by Indo-Aryan speakers coming from North-West India, viz., one colonised by people under a leader who claimed to be a scion of Bhagadutta of Prāgjyotiṣpura and the other colonised by people coming from Kāmarūpya or Kāmaprastha and neighbourhood. In classical Sanskrit literature both Kāmarūpa and Prāgjyotiṣa occur side by side as the names of two countries. In the story of Raghu's 'digvijaya' as given in the *Raghuvamsa* of Kālidāsa the hero first came to Prāgjyotiṣa and then crossed the Lauhitya to reach Kāmarūpa. Although lived separately the people were the same and spoke the same language which formed the starting point of the Assamese language.

There is no doubt that sometimes these two 'janapadas' merged into one under powerful kings who would call themselves Prāgjyotiṣeswara or Kāmarūpādhipati or both, so that these two places lost their local identity. In course of time the name 'Prāgjyotiṣa' gave way to 'Kāmarūpa' which alone survived.*

was the king of Vidarbha (Berar). Perhaps these ruins are the site of settlers from Kulinda a country in also North-West India mentioned by Pānini. Kulinda changed to Kundila and gave birth to the tradition of Bhismaka.

* The capital city of the old kings of Assam shifted from place to place. It is not possible to locate the capital of king Bhaskar Varma where the Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang met him. It should be somewhere in the district of Goalpara or even Mymensing. Coming from Malda eastward he had to cross several rivers. When he says 'after crossing the great river' he certainly meant not the Karatoyā but the Brahmaputra which was the biggest of them all. The capital was therefore to the East or South of the Brahmaputra.

Both these two names of old Assam point to the same region in extreme North-West of India from where people came to Aryanise Assam and laid the foundation of Assamese as a separate race and language. The linguistic peculiarities which these first colonists brought with them may be called the identification marks which distinguish the Assamese language from her kindred sisters of the eastern zone.

II. THE SOURCES OF THE ASSAMESE LANGUAGE.

8. An examination of the vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation prevailing in the language shows the existence of different layers of Indo-Aryan speech imported at different periods by people migrating to Assam from different parts of India. The present Assamese language is therefore like a river made up of several streams of dialect which had their origin at different places. The study of a language can reveal the story of a people which written history and tradition fail to do. The foundation of the Assamese language was laid by the Indo-Aryan speakers who came from some place in North-West India near Kashmîr where the ancient Prâgjyotiśpur was situated. Hence we find some linguistic affinity between Assamese and the dialects prevailing in Kashmir and the country near about it. Below are given some instances:

Assamese	Dialects of N.-W. India	English
zon	zun (Kashmiri)	
āi	yun (Khaskura) āi (Pashai) yāi (Gowarbati)	Moon Mothe†

Assamese	Dialects of N.-W. India	English
kukurā	kokur, kukur (Gowarbati and Pashāi)	Cock
kimān dur	kimon dur (Kalashi)	How far
khel	khel (N.W. Front. Province)	Social group.
bor, as in 'gāi bor'	bo (Pashāi), as in 'bo gā'	Plural suffix the cows.
gilā, gilāk (in L.A.)	gila (Gowarbati)	Plural suffix
zi gilā (L.A.)	zu gila (Gowarbati)	The daughters

(The plural suffix 'bilāk' in Upper Assam is derived from gilā; see Section 77 below)

tāhon (in L.A.)	tehon (Gowarbati)	They
Bāp han (in L.A.)	Bāp hon (Malvi)	The fathers

These plural suffixes, -jz. gilā, bilāk, bor, hān or hon were in popular use but were not used in Vaishnavic literature as being less dignified than the Sanskrit auxiliary words xab, xakal, to signify the plural number. They are not late developments.

lāthi (kick)	lāt (Punjabi)	leg
ger	ger (N.W.F. Province)	belly
khoj	konz (Manchāti)	foot print
bagā	bagā (Punjabi)	white

The substantive verb 'as' (to exist) remains unpalatalised in Assamese and some dialects of N.-W. India. In the following examples the italicised *n* indicates that the syllable is nasalised.

Assamese	Dialects of N.-W. India	English
mai āson	ā āsam (Kalāshi)	I am
mai āsilon	mo āsilas (N. Kashmir)	I was
parā, pere (L.A.)	pere	from
bāpek bilākar parā	bāb gila pere na	from the fathers
ātā (used by the Gossains and Mahantas)	ātā (Balti and others)	father

The auxiliary word 'hante' used in Middle Assamese to denote the ablative case of a noun is found in one of the Kohistāni dialects in the form 'hande'.

9. The auxiliary word 'sam' is used both in Kalāshi and Assamese in the sense of 'with' cf. 'Lakṣmi same gailā dhire dhire'—(SKD.), went slowly with Lakshmi.

Kalāshi—oh putr tun mai sam āsas
Assamese—oh po tai mor same āsa
English—Oh son you are with me
Kalāshi—ā tai man kai nepelāta
Assamese—mai tor kathā ketiyāo nepelāon
English—I your word ever not throw.

Here the same idiomatic way of expressing the sense of 'disobedience' should be noted.

10. Modifying the word of relationship according as the person to whom related stands in the First, Second or Third person, is found in the Pashāi

dialect of N.-W. India and in Assameš; but not in Bengali or Hindi, cf.

English—my father	your father	his father
Assamese—mor bopāi	tor bāper	tār bāpek
Pashāi—menā tātim	tenā tāto	utis tātiyā
Bengali—āmār bābā	tomār bābā	tār bābā

Compare the Personal affixes to verbs in the following examples. They are almost same in the three Persons.

Kalāshi—main mārun	tuī mārai ;	yoh māre
Assamese—mai māron	tumi mārān	xi or
		teon māre

English—I strike ; you strike ; he strikes

11. Cerebral sounds are absent both in Assamese and the Pishāchi Prakṛt from which the dialects of extreme N.-W. India developed. Local investigation may reveal many more points of similarity between Assamese and these dialects in vocabulary, idiom and tradition. This is also the view of Dr. Grierson who says, "Kashmir possesses a language which to the philologist presents many points of linguistic affinity with Assamese" (L.S.I.).

12. There are some words in Assamese which are not traceable to Sanskrit but to Greek and other European languages. These were also brought to Assam by the first band of Indo-Aryan speakers mentioned above, who came from N.-W. India which was under Greek occupation for some time around 320 B.C. Some descendants of the Greek soldiers left behind by Alexander are living even to-day in Citral and some out of the way places. It is not impossible that some of the first migrants to Assam contained in their blood Greek strain.

Assamese	Foreign
kaneē (egg)	Greek—goni ; Gothic-konee (egg)
kusi (a mound or hillock)	cf. Eng. conical : egg shaped.
ohār (udder)	Grk. xous (koos, a hillock)
selek (lick)	Grk. other
dāku, (a cross bar)	German—schleken, (to lick)
dām (price)	Grk. Dakos (a bar)
deri (late)	Grk. drachma (a coin)
pakhilā (a butterfly)	Grk. deeros (long in time)
batar (weather)	Grk. poikilos (many coloured)
yalā (change)	German—wetter
	Grk. 'alla (different, another way. The sign ' is for aspiration)

These people coming from the North-west are responsible for changing the palatals to supradentals in Assamese. Eg., Gowarbati 'zu' (daughter) for 'jī'. Compare also Pers. 'zada' for Skt. 'jāta' (born); 'zanu' for 'jānu' (knee) etc.

13. After the establishment of a strong regular government, in Kāmarūpa, people from other parts of India far and near, began to pour in either on account of socio-political disturbances or to seek fortune. Kings of Kāmarūpa earned great reputation as patrons of learning as well as for their might. They also induced men of the upper strata of society to come and settle in their dominions by offering land and money. Others followed impelled by adverse circumstances; and artisans, such as goldsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters etc. came in search of employment.

THE KALITĀS

14. The Kalitās about whom much speculation has been rife for a long time were a clan of North

Bihar. The word is most probably a degeneration of the word 'kṣatriya'. Any way, the kalitās, kalikās or kalyās have been referred to by Hieun Tsang, the Chinese traveller of early seventh century A.D. He calls them kṣatriyas of North Bihar. To this clan belonged Yasodharā, the wife of Gautama Buddha and also his famous disciple Moggalana kolitā (Vide page 113, Cultural History of Assam by Dr. B. K. Barua). These kolitās were kṣatriya Buddhists. With the revival of Brāhminism towards the latter part of the first millenium of the Christian era they had to flee their country. They went in all directions except the West. Some went to Nepal and are still living in the Tons valley. Some went southward to Sambalpur in Orissa. But the majority of them came to North Bengal and Assam, to save themselves from the fury of Brahminical persecution. The tradition still prevails in Assam that the Kalitās were forced to conceal their kṣatriya origin in order to escape the wrath of Jamadagni, the Brahmin warrior-god. The Varendra Kāyasthas of North Bengal are believed by some scholars to be originally kalitās. The kalitās came to Assam after Hieun Tsang who did not find a single Buddhist monastery in Kamārupa. The kalitās perhaps tried to propagate Buddhism in some places, such as, Hājo. But they ultimately failed and embraced Hinduism.

15. The Kalitās brought with them to Assam the Māgadhi Apabhramsa Prākṛt from North Bihar. Although used to a language rich in palatal sounds they had to adopt the anti-palatal pronunciation already established in this country. Yet many words

palatially pronounced which they brought with them have come to stay, often replacing a non-palatal indigenous word. The palatal sound in the new word is softened to supradental. They brought the M.I.A. 'acchai' giving rise to the word 'āche' pronounced 'āse' in place of the indigenous 'āsai'* from \checkmark as (to be).

'cecā' from Skt. 'shaitya' in addition to the indigenous 'xital', Skt. 'shītala'.

'buj', to know, palatalised form of 'budh' to replace the indigenous 'bhu pā' from 'bodh pā', get knowledge.

'gach', tree, from Pk. gaccha (see sec. 76,b) to supplant the indigenous 'rukhh' or 'birikh'.

'bāch' palatalised form of \checkmark vṛkṣ, to select.

'echāri' or 'acharā' (a switch of the bamboo growing out of a point in the joint which looks like an 'eye' (akṣa) + r.

16. It is not possible now, at a great distance of time since they arrived here, to sort out all the words which they must have brought with them. But it may be presumed with some degree of certainty that most Assamese words which are derived from Māgadhi Prākṛt were brought by them. Some such words are listed below.

Prākṛt.	Assamese.
এড, give up	এৰ
ওলংগ, salutations	ওলংগনি, respect
ওৰ beantiful	ওৰ (used in the 'Bargeets')
কন্দল skull	কন্দলী (Tantric Brahmin)

* There are many words in Assamese which have come directly from Sanskr̥t. The Prākṛt words have been taken from 'Pāia sadda Mahānnava'.

Prākṛt.	Assamese.
কৰণ, a prison	কৰণ, prison (eg. ঘমৰ কৰণ, in Mid. A.)
কণ্ঠ, cloth	কাণি cloth
কুট, to follow	কুৰ, কুড়, to follow (eg. 'বাটকুৰি বা', follow a track)
খেড়ি, wood	খৰি, fuel wood.
গোণা, a bull	গোণা, bull, eg.
গোড়, foot	গোণাম'হ, bull buffalo.
ঘিট্ট, hunch backed	গোৰ, a kick; গুৰি, foot of a hill or tree; গোৰোহা, the heel.
জোই, fire	জুটি।
টোপৰ, head gear	টোপৰ, in Mid. A.
ঠাণ, similarity	ঠান, (in Mid. A.)
ঢাল, to pour	ঢাল।
চেংকি, a crane	চেংকি, a husking machine which resembles a crane.
ডেহৰ, flood, (in Bihari)	চল, flood.
ঢাগৰ, a loafer	ধোদ, one who avoids work.
পৰা, front, face to face	পৰা, cf 'অন্তকে পাইলেক পৰা, বাম হৰি বুলি তৰা', death is face to face, save yourself by utter- ing God's name Rām and Hari.
পম্পুঅ, length	পম্পন, (used by M.K.)
পেৰাল, child	পোৱালি, offspring, calf.

Prākṛt.	Assamese.
বাহী, mother	বাঁচ, elder sister.
ভলুক, a kind of bamboo (in 'Artha Shāstra')	ভলুকা, a kind of hard bamboo.
মেল, to open	মেল, to open.
মহল, talkative	মহলা মাৰ, to talk uselessly.

17. The nominative case ending এ (e) which is also found in Maithili must have come to Assamese from Māgadhi Prākṛt. This এ occurs in Asoka's Inscriptions.

18. In course of centuries the Kalitās increased in number, spread throughout the whole of Assam and enriched the language that was brought by the former settlers. They with superior intelligence dominated over the local people as petty chiefs known as 'Bhuyān', i.e., Bhumyādhikār (land owner).

19. Several centuries later there came another wave of migration from northern India. The greatest of socio-political upheaval occurred when northern India was harried by the hordes of Mahmud of Ghazni in the eleventh century. According to Alburani "he utterly ruined the prosperity of the country and performed those wonderful exploits by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions".* Many of the fugitives came as far as Bengal and Kāmrūpa, to save their lives, honour and religion. When the country finally passed into the hands of a foreign power highly imbued with a proselytising zeal, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the

* R. C. Dutt's History of Ancient Civilisation of India.

tempo of migration increased. Many families belonging to the Brāhmin and the Kāyastha castes found their way to Assam to escape persecution and there ingratiated themselves into the favour of the Ahom rājās who found them very useful as 'kataki' or ambassadors to foreign courts and as writers and book-keepers.

HINDI AND ASSAMESE.

The above migration accounts for the large vocabulary that is common both to Hindi (including Rājasthāni) and Assamese. This vocabulary consists mainly of remote 'Tadbhava' and rarely found in Modern Bengali. Some are given below and others are cited in their proper places. It is not to be understood that the Assamese form is derived from its Hindi counterpart in every case. The Assamese form is often closer to the original word and its Hindi variant is a subsequent development.

Hindi.	Assamese.
अट्कल, guessing	অট্কাল।
अध्कच्छवि, half ripe	আধাকেচেব।
অড়ানা, to fasten one thing to another	আৰ, to hang anything
ওঁধ, and; (Brajabhākhā)	আৰু, আউৰ।
ওঁকল, uneasy	আহকাল, trouble; inconvenience.
উঘাব, to root out	উঘাল।
উজলা bright	উজলা, protruding, as teeth
উৰস, bug	উৰহ।

Hindi.	Assamese.
ওড়া, a basket	ওৰা, a big basket; used in 'Bar Phukanar geet'.
ওৰ, direction; origin	ওৰ, end, source
ওঢ়নী, a woman's veil	ওৰণী।
কসক, pain	কচকা, sprain
কোলা, black; (kanauji dialect)	ক'লা black
কাজী, industrious	কাজী, adept, industrious
কৰঘী, a kind of fish	কাৰৈ।
কোঠৰী, a small room	কোঠালি।
কে়া, why	কিয়।
খেদনা, chasing	খেদ।
থাটোলা, a small bed-stead	থাটোলা, a palanquin
খোল, a hollow	খোল।
খোপ, a fissure	খোপ, a notch serving as a step
গহক, delay	গহৰি।
গৱাক, rustic, (গ্রাম্য)	গোৱাৰ, obstinate; rude
গুচী, a bundle of 100 betel leaves	গুচি, 20 betel leaves.
ঘাই, stratagem; decoy	ঘাই, a decoy bird.
ঘাঘ, experienced	ঘাগী, shrewd, cunning
চুড়িয়া, striped cloth	চুৰিয়া, the lower garment of a man
চপড়া, clear land	চাপৰি, a clear high land
জাড়া লগনা, feeling cold	জাৰ লাগ।
টেঁটুৰা, the throat	টেঁটু।

Hindi.	Assamese.
टीक, head ornament	টীকৰ, cf. টীকৰ স্বামী মোৰ, my good husband, my head ornament. —M.K.
টীলা, rising ground	টীলা, mound
ঠেকা, to contract	ঠেক, narrow
ঠেলা, a push	ঠেল
ডাহী, spiteful; malicious	ডাঁহী, vicious; venomous, said of snake
চীকট, a mixture of oil and dirt	তেলচিকটি, oily dirt
টল্ল জানা, to disappear	তল্ল ঘা, (to sink)
ডস, the threads of the warp left unwoven	ডহী
ধাৰী, line, row	ধাৰী
ধূন, airs	ধূন, fashion
নাহন, a tiger	নাহন দুটকী, a spotted tiger
পসা, a palmful	পোহা
বীৰা, a betel leaf	বিৰা, a leaf (of betel)
বঢ়, to twist	বাট, to twist; to pound
ৰটী, a string	ৰটয়া, twisted thread
বন্ধা, a pump	বঞ্চানল, the spout of a pump cf. 'bambānale rudhira bazāwe', blood flows as through the spout of a fountain.—M.K.
বনৰা-বনৰি, bridegroom and bride	বনৰা-বনৰী, a pair of sexual man and woman.
বৰ্ৰী, cropped hair	বাৰৰী, a kind of wooly herb
বচ্চনী, a broom	বাচ্চনী।
মাড়না, threshing corn	মৰনা।

20. Both in Hindi and Assamese there is a dislike for **ା** (ā) in the first syllable, especially if there is an (ā) in the second syllable. eg.

Hindi and Assamese	Bengali
kaccā, kecā, unripe	kācā
katārī, katārī, a knife	kātārī
kanthā, kanthā, a quilt	kāntha
batās, batāh, air ; wind	bātās
paglā, pagalā, mad	pāglā

21. In Hindi, Assamese and Oriyā the negative particle is put before the verb and not after it as in Bengali. eg.

Hindi : main nahi māngtā
 Assamese : mai nāi khojā
 Oriya : mu na cāunchi
 Bengali : āmi cāi nāi.
 English : I do not ask

Both in Hindi and Assamese the auxiliary word 'log' or 'lok' is used as a plural suffix:—

Hindi : āp log
 Assamese : āponālok
 Bengali : āpnārā
 English : you all

22. The Infinitive case ending '-ibe' which was freely used in Mid A. must have been brought by people who came from Western-Hindi speaking area. eg. :—

Western H. :	suvar carāibe, carābe
L. Mid A. :	gāhari carāibe lāgi
M.A. :	gāhari carābalai
B. :	suvar carāite
E. :	to graze swine.

In E. Mid. A. we find 'ita' used in place of 'ibe', eg, 'mohoka badhita lāgi', to kill me; 'jaisāni khujita moka āilā hanumanta', when Hanumanta came to search for me—M.K.

23. In Western Assam the conditional Past tense is formed by adding 'hay' to the verb (eg, *mai galon hay*. I would have gone). We find the same in the West Hindi dialect *Dāngi* (L.S.I.).

PERSIAN AND ASSAMESE

24. Close on the heels of the fugitives from northern India came the muslim conquerors to the very border of Kāmarūpa which at that time included the country to the East of the Karatoya (including Cooch Bihar, Rangpur and Jalpaiguri districts). By 1500 A.D. Western Kāmarūpa as far as Hājo came under the possession of the invaders. Then they came into clash with the Ahoms who had their outpost at Gauhati. Naturally there followed not only exchange of shots, but also of prisoners and ambassadors. The Ahom ambassadors had to learn Persian. Towards the latter part of Ahom rule Persian was regularly learnt and studied by Assamese gentry who aspired for higher posts. This opened the door for a large number of Persian and Arabic words to get currency in Assam. At present we have more than four hundred such words.* In literature they first appeared in the writings of Sankardeva, and Madhavadeva.

BENGALI AND ASSAMESE

25. Lastly, there came in the wake of British administration a large number of educated Bengali

* They are to be found in the Index at the end of the book, and also in the text.

people to serve the government in various capacities.* At first the administration was run through the medium of English and Bengali. Bengali books were prescribed in the lower forms of the schools. This had the effect of introducing Bengali way of pronunciation to some extent. As for example, the sibilants (ś), (ṣ) and (s) which are always pronounced as guttural spirant (x) have come to regain their original pronunciation especially in proper names and at the end of the numerals. For example, 'shivasāgar' (name of a place) is now pronounced as 'sibsāgar' instead of as 'xiwaxāgar' as was done a century ago. The letter which in Sanskrit and Assamese is pronounced as 'v' or 'w' has now often come to be pronounced 'b' as in Bengali.

In vocabulary also Bengali words came to replace suitable indigenous words. Eg.,

B. tarkāri,	vegetables	for A.	pācali
dāl.	pulse	for	māh
lankā,	chillies	for	jalakiyā
khol,	to open	for	mel
garam,	hot	for	tapat, zah, ghām
sab,	all	for	xaw, xopāi, ātāibor
B. pāgal,	mad	for A.	baliyā
ṭhāndā,	cold		cencā, zur
			etc.

The Assamese language contains a large number of remote 'Tadbhava' words which the present generation is trying to forget in favour of their Hindi or Bengali synonyms.

* Early Bengali was very similar to Assamese. The Sri Krishna Kirtan and Shunya Purān may be cited in evidence. This language has been superseded in Bengali literature of 16th century and after, while it developed in Assam.

AUSTRO-ASIATIC, TIBETO-BURMAN ETC. AND ASSAMESE

26. As stated above the country was inhabited at the time of Indo-Aryan conquest by such non-Aryan people as the Kachāris, the Daflās, the Gāros, the Kochs, the Mech etc. While the new comers were more valorous, pushing and intelligent than the local people, the latter were more numerous. So both had to live side by side in peaceful co-existence. This led to mutual borrowing of language on both sides. In spite of that, the language of the new comers which was more developed, cultured and rich in ideas, ultimately prevailed over the indigenous dialects which were many and diverse. The borrowing was therefore more to the advantage of the non-Aryan tribes than to the Indo-Aryan speakers. As such the contribution of the non-Aryan dialects to the Assamese language was very small and was chiefly limited to proper names of places and rivers and to some varieties of fauna and flora of the country.*

* The contributions of the Austro-Asiatic and other non-Aryan dialects to the vocabulary of the Assamese language seems to have been overrated by Dr. Kakati in his valuable book 'Assamese, Its formation and Development'. But as regards grammar the present writer believes that the Austro-Asiatic language which once prevailed through a great part of Northern India in the remote past left an indelible mark on some of the languages of that region. He refers to the particle 'I' added to verbs to indicate the Past Tense. According to Bhandarkar and Chatterjee this 'I' is an adjectival suffix added to the Past Participle form of a verb ending in 'ta'. Thus *kṛta*, done+I=kaḍala ; karala, did.

This 'I' is however widely used in dialects of the Austro-Asiatic family of languages ; eg, in Khāsi 'u lait', he goes ; 'u la lait', he went or gone. For examples in other branches of Mon-Khmer dialects see 220 of 'Asamīya Bhākhār' Maulik

27. Below are some of the common words for which Assamese is indebted to the non-Aryan dialects already current in the country:

kuri, twenty, of Mongolian origin.

mekuri, a cat, from Mongolian 'meko', a cat.

mecekā, a wild cat, from Mongolian 'mecko'.

mugā, a kind of golden silk, of Bodo origin.

hābi, a forest, supposed to be borrowed from Kachāri.

hāphalu, ant hill, of Bodo origin.

holong, a kind of tall tree, from Singpho 'hlong'.

Here also 'hābi' may be an aspirated form of Skt. 'aṭabī', forest and 'horā' an aspirated form of A. 'orā', a basket.

28. In grammar the use of a definitive particle after nouns to indicate the nature, gender, quality and quantity of a thing may have come from Tibeto-Burman speakers. It is very common in Assamese, to some extent in Bengali but rare in the Western languages. Eg.,

mānuh ṭo, the particular man;

mānuh bor, the men;

mānuh zani, the woman;

mānuh pāt, the disgusting man;

mānuh garākī, the honourable man, or woman;

mānuh zan, the gentleman;

mānuh zanā, the gentle woman;

mānuh kiṭā, the few men.

In these cases the sub-word attached to the

Bicār' by present writer. The question is whether it is the adjectival 'T' or the Austric 'T' that has been added to the Past Participle form.

main word is not borrowed from the non-Aryan tribes. What is perhaps borrowed is the desire for definiteness of expression.

29. In Kachāri it is often seen that a conjunctive verb with consequential significance is attached to the main verb. Eg., 'long fāi', take after coming; 'hu fāi', give after coming; 'nu hui', see after going. Corresponding Assamese forms are la-*hī* (la+āhi); de-hi (de+āhi); cā-gai. Evidently Assamese got this form of expression from Kachāri.

30. One certain influence of non-Aryan dialects on Assamese pronunciation is the change of the silent guttural spirant 'x' (শ, ষ, স,) to 'h'. Eg., āxam or āxām to āhom; ānxat (< ashvattha) to ānhat; xožā (< Skt. sahaj) to hozā, etc., etc.

III. DIFFERENT STAGES OF THE ASSAMESE LANGUAGE.

31. The Assamese language has gone through the following stages of development:—

I. The Prakṛt stage: from about the beginning of the Christian era to 1000 A.D. No specimen of this stage of the language is available. By tracing backward the trend of changes that have since taken place we may make a guess of the language that then prevailed. We venture to give a conjectural specimen of the language of the period, below:—

ba^{hu} bassara^a agge^b kāmarupatta^c Bhās-
kara barmā nāma eta^d eka dambara^e rājā āsa-ilā^f
(or acchai-ilā)^g . xe hi rājā eka dinā^h mṛgayāⁱ
karita^j nagaratah parā^j banaika lagge^k gaa-ilā.
tatta eko guṭi^j paxu na pāpita-ilā^m . ba^{hu} khanaⁿ
bicaya^o karittā eka ṭhāhatta^p daxa guṭi hañxa^q
kanee^q pāpittā eka rukha^r goḍatta^s joi^t jālaittā^u
kanee daxa guṭi pura (or pula)-ilā^u , avaru khādita^v
ilā^v , ebam rāttī nīttā^w prarohe bhūte^w banatah
parā nagaraika^x lagge varti āisa-ilā^y .

[a. batsara, year; b. agre, before; c. locative ending ‘-tral’ affixed; d. nāma sameta; f. famous, proud; g. Vedic ‘āsa’ meant ‘was’, cf., tasyaha naci-
ketā nāma putra āsa’. -ilā was added as a Past Par-
ticle; its origin is not known clearly; h. eka dinā, one day, occurs in old Copper Plate inscriptions in place of ‘eka dine’; i. to do, this occurs in writings of M.k.; j. double ablative, ‘parā’ in the sense of ‘from’ is a very old word. It appears in Avestic.

cf. 'parā kawhmād nered', from certain person. In Gowarvati dialect near Kashmir and in L. Assam it appears as 'pere', vide Sec. 8 above; k. modern 'lāgi', 'lai', in the sense of 'to'; l. a piece; m. prāpta + ilā, found; n. time; o. search, modern bicār; p. Pk. 'ṭhāh' means place; q. eggs; r. it occurs in Caryāpada from Skt. vṛkṣa; s. Pk. 'goḍa' means leg, foot; here it means at the foot of a tree; t. mod. zui from Skt. jyoti; u. burnt; v. nītvā, having passed; w. mod. pohar haonte; x. nagaraini. 'k' (comes as phonetic glide), to nagar; y. mod. ulati, returning; z. āvish + ila or Vedic ā, to come + sva (ātmanepadi imperative āswa + ila.)]

II. Early Assamese: From 1000 A.D. to 1250 A.D. Of this period also we have no reliable representative literature, except perhaps some of the aphorisms of 'Dākar Bacan'. The word 'Dāk' itself is specimen of the language of this period. It means an 'expert' or 'Pandit' being derived from the word 'dakṣa'. The sayings of Dākar Bacan are not available in their original form. But some of the sayings are undoubtedly very old and belong to the pre-Vaishnavic period. The 'Caryāpadas' discovered by Haraprasād Shāstri in Nepal were composed in this period in a mixed language containing Hindi, Mai-thili, Bengali and Assamese vocabulary and grammar. The characteristic Assamese Locative ending 't' is freely used in the Caryāpadas, eg., 'gaanata' for 'gaganata', in the sky; 'gīvata' in the neck; saṅgamata, on the bridge; 'hāḍita', in the cooking pot; etc. Words like 'uzu', straight; 'burili', sunk; 'poiāli', offspring; 'sama', with; 'boliā', mad; are

typically Assamese. So is also the use of 'm' in the first Person future tense, e.g., 'mārami', I shall strike; 'leṁi', I shall take; 'bhaima', I shall be etc.

Some specimens of Assamese words or their older forms which prevailed in this period are also to be found in the commentary of the Sanskrit dictionary 'Amarkosha' by Sarvānanda Bandyaghatia of Bengal in the year 1081 A.D., discovered by Haraprasād Shāstri. Some such words are given below:

Assamese words and their old forms in the eleventh century.

karata, a saw	karawat
kulā, winnowing fan	kullaka
kencu, earthworm	kinche
khopā, knot of hair behind the head	khopyak
ghorā, horse	ghoṭa
zethi, lizard	jethi
teteli, tamarind	tintili
damarā, a male calf	dambora
nigani, a mouse	lingali
patān, chaff	wātān
pāgul, to chew the cud	pāgul
pharing, grass hopper	phadiṅga
phecu, a kind of bird	picca (phinca in E. Mid A)
bobā, dumb	bobba
barāli, a kind of fish	badāli

III. Middle Assamese: This again has to be brought under two subheads, viz—

(a) Early Middle Assamese from 1250 A.D. to 1500 A.D. It is represented by the language of the Rāmāyana written by Mādhav Kandalī, a poet of very high order.

(b) Late Middle Assamese from 1500 A.D. to 1650 A.D. The language prevailing in this period is well represented by the writings of Sankardeva and Madhavadeva, two great preachers of Neo-vaishnavism in Assam, and other vaishnavic literature.*

IV. Modern Assamese: This may also be divided into—

(a) Early Modern from 1650 A.D. to 1840 A.D. The language of this period is presented by the 'Buranjis' or historical chronicles maintained in Assamese by Court historians of the Ahom kings. The earliest of them was written in Assamese about 1660 A.D.

(b) Late Modern from 1840 A.D. onwards. This date has been chosen because from this time there came a great change over the political, social and cultural life of the people. It is around this date that the country completely passed under the British rule; the Printing press was established and above all, the European language, literature and outlook was introduced through the establishment of High English schools and printing and publication of news papers—a totally foreign concept. Literature came to its own, being divorced from religion, in the form of poems, dramas and stories. A dictionary and a grammar were compiled giving a standard and stability to the language.

* Vaishnavism had been prevailing in Assam side by side with Shaivism and Shaktism since 10th century A.D. as appears from the copper plates of old kings. Sankardeva laid special emphasis on 'Nāma Dhārma', that is, the merit of uttering God's name to the exclusion of other forms of worship.

Chapter II.

ASSAMESE ALPHABETS AND THEIR VALUES.

32. The sound system of Assamese language consists of six simple vowel sounds and two diphthongs expressed by ten letters. There are twenty six consonantal sounds expressed by thirty six letters and two signs, as shown in the following table:

Vowels	Guttural	Velar	Palatal	Alveolar	Labial
	অ,আ	ା	—	ই,়ে	ও
					ু
					়ো
Unvoiced explosive	—	କ,k	—	ଟ,t,ତ	ପ,p
Unvoiced aspirate	—	ଖ,kh	—	ଠ,th,ଥ	ଫ,ଫ
Voiced explosive	—	ଗ,g	—	ଡ,ଡି	ବ,ବ
Voiced aspirate	—	ଘ,gh	—	ଢ,ଢିଧ	ଭ,ଭ
				ରh	ବ୍ର
Nasal (voiced)	—	ଙ,ନ	ଙ୍ଗ,n	ନ,ଙ,ଣ	ମ,ଙ
Unvoiced spirant	ଷ,ଷ,ସx	—	—	ଚ,ଚ୍ଛ	—
Voiced spirant	ହ,h	—	—	ଜ,ଶ	—
Liquid	—	—	—	ଝି,ଡ,	—
				ରି,ଲ	—
Semivowel	—	—	ୟ,y	—	ଓୟ

There are two diphthongs **ାଇ**, *ai* and **ାଉ**, *au*; and the double consonant **କ୍ଷ** pronounced as 'khy' instead of its Sanskrit value 'kṣ'. In Middle Assamese there was also the letter **ଝ** which is an aspirated 'z'. But in Modern Assamese the sound has disappeared and so also the letter. The two signs 'ନ' (ନ) and 'ହ' (ହ) are half syllabic. They are affixed to other letters and cannot stand alone. There is also another half syllabic sign 'ଙ' carrying a 't' value affixed to other letters. There is also the

‘candravindu’ ঁ, which gives a nasal twang to sounds represented by other letters. It is placed above that letter.

The Sanskrit cerebrals and dentals have merged and are pronounced as alveolars, a sound midway between dental and cerebral.

শ, ষ, স, (x)

The three Sanskrit spirants (palatal, cerebral and dental) have lost their values in Assamese. Here they are alike pronounced as a silent guttural spirant represented by the International Phonetic sign ‘x’. This is a very distinctive sound in the language. It is not to be found in the neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages, such as, Bengali, Oriya, Bihari, Hindi, nor in the surrounding non-Aryan indigenous languages. But it is prevalent in some dialects of N.-West India, such as, Chamba, near Simla and Bhilli in Rajputana. It was prevalent in Avestic (Proto-Iranian). cf. Avestic ‘xur’ for Skt. Sura (surya), the sun; Avestic ‘xar’ for Skt. ‘khar’ (ass). According to philologists some people of the Iranian branch of the Aryan race crossed over to Kāshmir and the surrounding country to mix with the local people.* The ‘x’ sound, therefore, must have been brought by the first band of Indo-Aryan speakers who migrated to Assam from those parts as stated above.** The Sanskrit letters শ, ষ, স are retained as there is no separate letter for the ‘x’ sound. This has led to

* The dialects that have grown up in these places are classed under the common name ‘Dardic’ (Piśāci in Prakṛt).

** There are a few words in which the Sanskrit letters have retained their sibilant sound. Such words were imported lately eg. বাচণ for বাসন, vessel.

some anomaly as in many cases, especially in Proper nouns and in the numerals these letters are pronounced as in Sanskrit.

(During the last fifty years this 'x' sound is losing ground to the sibilant sound of শ, ষ and স . eg., সব, (all) is pronounced as 'sab', not as 'xab'. If we want to retain the 'x' sound of these letters then we can do it by placing a dot below these letters to represent the 'x' sound. Where there is no dot below the letters they should be pronounced as in Sanskrit.)

34. The question may be posed, how far back in the history of the language can this sound 'x' in these letters be traced; or is it only a recent development. Evidence on this point can be gathered only from old literature.

The oldest literature are, of course, the inscriptions on the Copper Plates issued by the Kings of ancient Kamarupa (7th to 11th century). But these were in Sanskrit. Here we find especially in the later ones that the letters শ, ষ and স were indiscriminately used. This shows that they lost their original values and were pronounced alike, most probably as in present day Assamese, i.e., as 'x'.

The earliest literature in Assamese is the Prahlād Carita by Hem Saraswati and Aśwamedha Parva by Harihar Vipra. Both wrote during the reign of Dur-labhanārāyan of Kamatāpur, towards the end of the thirteenth century. Hem Saraswati wrote বিপি for ঋষি, (sage); বংশ for বংশ, (lineage). This shows

that for want of a separate letter for the 'x' sound the writer used খ (kh) which is a near approach.

At the time of Saṅkaradeva this 'x' sound was more conspicuous than at present. For, the letters খ (kh) and হ (h) were also sometimes pronounced as 'x'. He (or his copyist) wrote 'আঞ্চলে মুচিলা আসি মুখ' 'with the end of the garment (she) wiped (her) eyes (আঢ়ি) and face'; (Bhāgavata 10th Chapter by Saṅkaradeva); সংস for শংখ, (conch); গ্রাস for গ্রাহ, (sea monster); নিগ্রসি for নিগ্রহি, (keeping in check); লাসে লাসে for লাহে লাহে, (slowly, derived from Skt. 'helā'); পোসৰ for পোহৰ, (light); গোৰথ for গোৰস milk. Here খ has been used in place of স, and স in place of হ and থ. It shows that স was not pronounced as 's' but as 'x', and both খ and হ were also sometimes pronounced as 'x'.

Ananta Kandali who wrote about a century later used পশি, (entering) to rhyme with আঢ়ি, (eye); দোয়, (fault) to rhyme with মোহ, (ignorance) at the end of couplets. This shows that শ and ষ were not pronounced with their original sibilant sounds.

ক্ষ (khy)

35. This was originally a double consonant (kṣ). In Pāli, Prākṛt, Hindi, Oriyā and Bengali this double consonant changed to চ (c) and ছ (ch)—palatals. Assamese stands out as a pro-guttural language by always changing it to ক (k), খ (kh), হ (h) or

‘x’.* The following examples show the different sounds of this letter ক্ষ:—

Original.	Pro-palatal.	Pro-guttural (Assamese).
শিক্ষ, to learn	—	শিক্
কক্ষ, side	B. কাছ	কাষ
কতিক্ষণ, when	কৈছন	কেসানি, কাহানি
ক্ষণ, moment	H. ছন	খেন
ক্ষণিক, momentary	H. ছনিক	খন্তেকিয়া
ক্ষণকাল, short time	—	সোনকাল
ক্ষমহস্ত, able hand	—	সোঁচাত
ক্ষব, cough	ছেপ	সেপ
ক্ষব, to fall	—	সৰ
কটাক্ষী, sidewise glance	—	কেৰাহী
ক্ষাৰ, alkali	ছাৰ	থাৰ
ক্ষুদ্র, small	Pk. ছদ. ছোট্ট	সৰু
মক্ষি, fly	B. মাছি	মাথি
ভৰ্ক্ষ, bhrakṣa, hypocrisy	—	ভুৰুক্ষি

* The Indo-European languages are classified by linguists into two groups according to their treatment of certain guttural sounds. In one group (pro-guttural) these sounds remain as k, kh, g, gh, whereas in the other group (pro-palatal) as sh, c, ch, j. The former is called the 'Kentum' (Latin centum) group and the latter the 'Satem' group from the Sanskrit word 'shatam'. It is generally believed that the Kentum group of languages is confined to Europe while the Satem group came to India. This theory is questionable, since in India words belonging to both these groups are found side by side. Sanskrit was originally a Satem language; when it developed outstripping its rivals by producing lasting literature it absorbed to advantage words of the opposite group also. The following pairs of words may be cited in evidence of the fact that people speaking Aryan language with both Satem and Kentum bias migrated to India.

36. Repugnance to palatal sounds is conspicuous in Assamese. The Sanskrit palatals 'c', 'ch', 'j', and 'jh' have been softened to supradentals or alveolar sibilants 's' and 'z'. Skt. চন্দ্ৰ moon; ছত্ৰ chatra, umbrella; জীৱ, living thing, are pronounced as 'sandra', 'satra', 'ziwa'.* The Skt. palatal sibilant শ 'sh' has been changed to 'x' as already stated except (1) when it combines with another sound as in 'iswar'; (2) when it comes at the end of a word as in 'Rames', (name of a man); 'āthāis', twenty eight. Even in such cases it is pronounced not as a palatal but as a supradental sibilant 's'. The Skt. palatal semivowel য (y) is also pronounced as 'z' in initial positions. In other positions its original palatal value 'y' is retained, in which case a dot is placed below. e.g., য in বিয় (biyā, marriage); but 'যদি' (zadi, if); যত্ত (zatna, effort).

Guttural form.	Palatal form.	Meaning.
কষু	শশু	the conch shell
কৰ্ণ	শ্রৰন	the ear
কত্ৰ, (Delhi language)	চত্ৰৰ	courtyard
কৃথ	শ্রথ	cut, injured
কম'	শ্রম	work, labour
কেলাস, (a certain mountain)	শ্রেলাঃ	hills, rocks
কদ্, B. কাদা	শাদ	mud

* In Persian also Skt. palatals are sometimes changed to supradentals; e.g., Skt. jānu, knee P. zanu; Skt. jāta, born P. zada; Skt. pr̥cha, P. purs, to ask. It is therefore clear that the first band of Indo-Aryan speakers who came to Assam from N.W. India is responsible for this tendency to change palatals to supradentals. Their language was influenced by old Persian.

37. This aversion to palatal sounds is responsible for the changes in the words below:—

Sanskrit.	Assamese
আয়ুস् āyus, duration of life	আউ, āu, (used by S.K.D.)
আয়ুস বট় āyus baṭa,	
pipul tree	আউবৰ. āo bar (used in
planted for longevity	Buranjis)
উচ্ছ্রিত, ucchrita, high	উশ্রিত, usrita (used by S.K.D.)
জ্যোতি jyoti, lustre	জোতি, joti (used in old copper plates also jeuti (Mod. A.)

Guttural form.	Palatal form.	Meaning.
কাকা (B.)	চাচা (H.)	uncle
কোব (A.)	চোপ (B.)	a blow with whip etc.
কবৰ	শবৰ	variegated in colour
কৰভ	শবভ	young of elephant or tiger
ঙ্কাস্তি	শ্রাস্তি	fatigue
কিকট	চিকটা (A.)	miserly
কণ	শ্বন	scound
গণ	জন	people
মুকুটি (A.)	মুচুটি (Skt.)	blow with fist
দংক (Pk), দাক (A.)	দংশ	bite
পকল	পচল	wind
ভিগা (H.)	ভিজা (B.)	wet
ওথ (A.)	উষ্ণ (Skt.)	high
ফৰকাল (A.)	ফৰ্চা (H.)	fair weather
গল্ল (B.)	জল্ল	talking, story telling
কৰ্ম	চাষ (B.)	to cultivate

Sanskrit.	Assamese.
জ্যোতিকৰ jyotiṣkar, bright	জ্যোতিকৰ jātiskar, illuminating
জলচৰ jalacar, aquatic	জলশৰ, jalasvar (used by S.K.D.)
অংচ্চ nyānc going downward	নেওচা ধা, neocā jā (an imprecation)
ব্রার্থে vyarthe, in vain	ব্ৰথে, breathe (used by S.K.D.)
ব্রজাম vyāma, a measure of length with extended arms	beon, বেঁ

CEREBRALS AND DENTALS.

38. Cerebral sounds are produced by pressing the tip of the tongue against the hard palate. These sounds were absent in the original Aryan language. They are rare in Vedic Sanskrit; but are profuse in Pāli, Prākṛt, Hindi and Rājasthāni and to some extent in Bengali—The Assamese language is absolutely free from this sound. This has to be accounted for.* Here the cerebrals and Dentals have been confused and are pronounced alike as alveolars or supradentals. But in orthography the Sanskrit way of spelling is maintained and therefore the cerebral letters are used. Usage is given more importance than to the actual sound of the letter, or than to the origin

* The cerebrals are absent also in the Dardic group of languages. As the first settlers of Indo-Aryan speakers came to Assam from those parts where the Dardic speakers prevailed as stated above, Assamese is therefore singularly free from cerebral sounds which were introduced into India by Dravidians who came from the West.

of the word which is often obscure. eg., টান, to stretch should be written as তান according to the origin of the words, ভন্ন. So ডেউকা, the wings of a bird, should be written 'ডেউকা' (দেহ কোষ) and দুৰাৰ ডলি should be written দুৰাৰ দলি (দেহলি). Words of obscure origin and words of foreign origin are as a rule written with the cerebral letters.

LABIALS.

39. The Sanskrit labials have retained their values in Assamese except that the labial semi-vowels ব (v) is pronounced as ব (b) in the initial position of a word, eg. বেদ (Veda) is pronounced as বেদ (bed), বৰ্ষা (varṣā, rainy season) as বাৰিষা (bārixā), বিল (vil, to divide) becomes বিলা (bilā, to distribute).

LIQUIDS.

40. The liquids ব (r) and ল (l) are pronounced as supradentals. So is also pronounced the Sanskrit cerebral sound ড (ɖ) as ব (r) in non-initial positions. In initial position it is pronounced as দ (d) supradentally. The Sanskrit aspirated voiced cerebral ঢ is changed to an aspirated ব (r) in non-initial positions. In initial position it is also pronounced as ধ (dh). In non-initial positions a dot is placed below as ড and ঢ to indicate the (r) and (rh) sounds respectively. The (rh) sound is absent in Bengali. eg.

Assamese.	Bengali.	Hindi.
কাঢ় draw; (Skt. karṣa)	কাঢ়ো	কাঢ়না
গঢ় construct (Skt. saṅghaṭa)	গঢ়ো	গঢ়না
পঢ় read (Skt. paṭh)	পঢ়ো	পঢ়না
বৃঢ়া old (Skt. vṛddha)	বৃঢ়ো	বৃঢ়ৰা
বৃঢ়ী old	বৃঢ়ী	বৃঢ়ীয়া

SEMI-VOWELS.

41. The palatal semi-vowel য (y) has retained its original value in Assamese in non-initial positions. In the initial position it has changed to (z) written as য (without the dot). The labial semi-vowel ব (v) also retained its original value only slightly changed that is from 'v' to 'w' in non-initial positions. But in initial position has changed to ব (b) as in Bengali.

NASALS.

42. There are seven nasal signs in the language. ঙ and ঁ (anuswar) have the value of 'ng' in English 'fang', 'hang' etc. ু (candravindu) represents a nasal twang when placed above a letter (this will be represented by an italicised n); eg. খঁ (khank, greed). The other nasal letter ঃ represents a nasalised 'y', eg. ভুঃঃ=(ভূয়া) bhunyā, landlord). ঁ and ঁ represent the 'n' sound in English. ঁ represents 'm'. A syllable nasalised by the *candravindu* makes a lot of difference in the meaning of the word; eg.

কাহ (kāh, cough);	কাহ (kānh, bell metal)
তাত (tāt, there);	তাত (tānt, loom)
শাও (xāo, curse);	শাও (xāon, black; mucus)
বাও (bāo, a kind of paddy);	বাও (bāon, left)

The *candravindu* is a degenerated nasal occurring in the original word; eg. তাত from তন্ত্র (tantra); গাও from গ্রাম (village); শাও from শ্বাস (black).

THE VOWELS.

আ (ā)

43. It is a guttural sound with the tongue lying low and lips wide apart, as in pronouncing English 'father' 'part'. When attached to a consonant this sound is represented by the sign 'ঁ'

অ (a)

It is also a guttural sound like আ but with the back of the tongue very slightly raised so as to make it more backward and with the lips less apart than in pronouncing আ. Its natural sound is that of 'o' in English 'hot', 'pot' etc. But when followed by ই, ঈ (i) or উ, ঈ (u) the sound becomes higher and narrow as in pronouncing 'o' in 'hole', 'note' etc. It is produced by heaving the middle of the tongue upward with the lips rounded. When these two sounds of অ require to be discriminated from the point of sense, then the narrow sound is indicated by an apostrophe placed above the letter, eg. মহ (mah, mosquito); but ম'হ (ma'h, buffalo); মৰা (marā, dead) but ম'ৰা (ma'rā, peacock).

When followed by আ (ā), অ has always the broad sound as in মৰা (marā), কলা (kalā), লৰা (larā) meaning 'dead', 'deaf', and 'moving' respectively. But where the অ is followed by ই, ঈ (i) or উ, ঊ (u), the sound is always narrow, eg. ব'লী (ba'lī, strong) from বল (bala, strength); গ'ৰু (ga'ru, cow).

But there are some exceptions. When a nasal sound intervenes between the অ and the following ই or ঈ the sound of অ remains unaffected. কণী (kaṇee, egg), ফনী (phani, a comb), অমিতা (amitā). In the word গহীন (gahīn) the sound of অ attached to গ is not narrow although followed by ঈ. The real word is গহন (gahana). See sec. 46.

In the following words the sound of অ attached to the first letter remains narrow although it is followed by an আ (ā); because an ই or উ has dropped after the অ (a); ক'লা (ka'lā, black) is derived from Pk. কউল (kaula, cowdung) a thing black in colour). ম'ৰা (ma'rā, peacock) is from মযুৰ (mayur, peacock). ল'ৰা (la'rā, boy) is from লহুৰা (lahurā), লেউৰা (launrā) in Kanauji dialect.

এ (e)

This vowel has two values like অ (a). One is low-mid, produced by heaving the middle of the tongue with spread lips while pronouncing আ (ā). The International sign for this sound is ε. It prevails in all Assamese words which are not 'tatsama'; eg. (perā, box) Skt. পেটক (peṭaka). The other sound of এ is mid-high produced by further raising

the middle of the tongue. This high-mid sound is prevalent in Sanskrit and Assamese 'tatsama' words like কেশৱ (kexawa).

When followed by ই, ঈ (i) or উ, ঊ (u) the sound of এ is always high-mid, eg. বেলি (beli, the sun), as against বেলা (bɛlā, time); এৰি (eri, a kind of silk), as against এৰা (ɛrā, yes). When attached to a consonant the sound of এ is represented by the sign 'ɛ', eg., কে (kɛ).

ও (o)

The sound for which this letter stands is produced with the lips brought close to each other and rounded while pronouncing অ (a). The English 'o' in 'vocative' approaches it. It may be called a gutturo-labial low sound. When attached to a consonant this vowel is represented by the sign ɔ, eg. পো (po, son).

উ, ঊ (u)

In Assamese these two letters have equal value and stand for the sound produced by very close-rounding of the lips and raising the front part of the tongue while pronouncing অ' the higher sound of অ. It is same as 'u' in English 'put'. When attached to a consonant this sound represented by the sign 'ɔ', or 'ু', eg, কু, কূ (ku).

ই, ঈ (i)

Both these letters stand for the same sound in Assamese which is equivalent to 'i' in English 'pin'. It is produced by further raising the front part of

the tongue while pronouncing এ (e). When attached to a consonant the sound is represented by ফ or ফি, eg. কি, কী (ki). ই, ঈ, উ, ঊ are high sounds.

আ (ai)

The original আ sound has disappeared in Assamese as in many other modern Indian languages except in 'tatsama' words. Thus তৈল (ta'ila, oil) has become তেল (tel), দৈত্য (da'itya, demon) has become দ'ত (da't). But the diphthong has reappeared in Assamese through a combination of অ and ই, ঈ in consecutive syllables., eg. নদী (nadi) gave rise to নৈ (nái, river), পাত (pati) has given rise to পৈ (pái, husband), ঘরিনী (গৃহিনী) gharini) to ঘৈনী (ghainī, wife) etc. In vaishnavic literature of the 16th and 17th centuries we often come across words like দেখাই (dekhái) for দেখই (দ্রক্ষতি, drakṣati, sees), কহেই (kahái) for কহই (kahai, kathayati, speaks) etc. This newly developed আ also degenerated to এ (e) eg. কহেই>কহে which again changed to কহ. When attached to a consonant the sound is represented by the sign ৈ ; eg. দে (dai, curd).

ঔ (au)

This diphthong has persisted in many cases, such as শৈচ (xaus, purification after voiding), যৌতুক (jautuk, dowry). In others it has degenerated to ও (o); eg. ধৌত (dhauta) changed to ধোওয়া (dhowā, washed).

ঔ has also reappeared through the combination of অ and উ in two consecutive syllables; eg. মধু

(madhu, honey) > মড়, মেৰি mau; বধু (badhu) > বেৰি [(bau, mother). When attached to a consonant this sound is represented by the sign ৰি ; eg. সো (xau, that).

(ri)

Although in value it is a consonant it is conventional to treat it as a vowel and as such it is represented by the sign 'ৰি' attached below a consonant letter; eg. ৰি (kri). [N.B. When no vowel sign is attached to a consonant letter in the beginning or middle of a word, it is supposed to be supported by অ (a).]

Chapter III.

THE LAWS OF STRESS-ACCENT IN ASSAMESE.

44. A perceptible accent is always avoided in Assamese language. Accent in Assamese is therefore very slight; yet it has played an important part in giving particular shapes to 'tadbhava' words which are many in this language and make it look different from the sister languages. The laws governing accent in this language may be stated as follows :—

45. I. Accent induces a strong vowel and a strong vowel induces accent; eg **কাচিঁ** > **কাচিট** (kācīt, rarely), অ in the first syllable is changed to আ in the derivative.

II. In modern standard Assamese accent is placed on the second syllable of a word.

Corollary—A weak vowel in the second syllable is, as a rule, replaced by a stronger vowel.

[From the standpoint of accent the vowels may be classified as follows :—

অ — weakest of the vowels.

এ, ও — weak vowels.

আ, ই, ঈ, উ, ঊ — strong vowels.

া, ঔ, খ — strongest vowels.]

46. In the following words the vowel in the second syllable is replaced by a stronger vowel :—

Original form.

Present form.

Skt. আত্মন>আপন self আপোন

অগ্রহায়ণ, আষ্টা in L.A. আষোন a month

Original form.	Present form.
অৰহণা offering	অৰিহণা
Pāli এতক this much	Mid. A. এতেক
কপোত a pigeon, dove	কপো
কান্দন (কৰন) crying	কান্দোন
কুৰৰ an osprey	কুৰৰা
খুৰ leg of a bed-stead	খুৰা
খৰ, hot	খৰাঃ dry
গহন grave, dignified	গহীন
চেলং a cloth	চেলং
চুল hair	চুলি
চোল a coat or jacket	চোলা
তৰৰাৰ a sword	তৰোৱাল
দৰশন seeing	দৰিশন
দাপন (দৰ্পন) a mirror	দাপোন
H. দেৱল a small temple	দেউল
H. নটৰা a dancer	নটৰা
নাচন Pk. নচন dancing	নাচোন
নাগৰী a certain script	নাগেৰী
পদম (পদু) a lotus	পদুম
H. পছৰা West-Wind	পছৰা
পঅ(দ)ভৰ	পয়োভৰ pomp with procession of many people
পাতকী a sinner	পাতেকী
পালঞ্চ a bed stead	পালং
প্রতোলী a road	পদ্মলী
বামন a brāhmin	বামুন
ভেকলী a frog	ভেকুলী
মেথেলা a waist band	মেথেলা, a petti-coat

Original form.	Present form.
লংঘন fasting	লংঘন
যোজনা, connecting together	যোজনা saying based on similarity of sense
যৌতুক, women's dowry	যৌতুক
শাসন, শাহন property covered by royal grant	শাহোন cf. (বাপতি শাহোন, ancestral property)
স্বৰঙ্গ, subterranean passage	স্বৰঙ্গ a tunnel

III. Modern standard Assamese has a strong aversion to accent on the first syllable of a word.

Corollary—A strong vowel in the first syllable of a word is replaced by a weaker one.

ও is replaced by অ, অ', ও (o) উ (u) or আ (ā) ;
 ক্র is replaced by অ', ই (i) or এ(e); আ (ā) is replaced by
 এ (ɛ) or অ (a) ; ই, ঈ (i) by এ (ɛ); উ, উ (u) by ও (o);
 এ (ɛ) and ও (o) by অ (a).

47.

Original form.	Changed present form.
H. আটা wheat flour	এটাগুৰি
আদা ginger	এদা
ইন্দুৰ mouse	এন্দুৰ
P. উস্তাদ expert	ওস্তাদ
P. উজৰ complaint	ওজৰ
উপচয়, excess, heap	ওপচ to over-flow
Mid. A. উপং to float	ওপং
Pk. উৰ end or beginning	ওৰ
উপৰ, up	ওপৰ
Mid. A. উপজ্যু, born	ওপজ্যু
Pk. উলুহ, come out	ওলা come out or go out

Original form.	Present form.
Mid. A. উহনায় উৎশনোতি	অনায়, ওনায় overhear
একল, alone	অকল
H. Brajabhakha ব্রজ, and ঐশান, a direction of the compass	আৰু অহিন
H. কাইয়োঁ, cunning and miser	কেঞ্জা a class of traders
B. কাটাৰী, (Skt. কট্টাৰ a weapon	কটাৰী knife
B. কাসাৰ, (কাংস্যকাৰ)	কঁহাৰ
কিঞ্চুল earthworm	কেঁচু
কুচ, to contract	কোচ
B. কুমড়ো, gourd	কোমোৰা
Mid. A. কুমৰ, prince	কোঞ্বি
H. কোন who	কোন
গুম্ফ mustachio	গোঁফ
Mid. A. গৈল went	গ'ল, B. গেল
গোধুলি time of sunset	গধুলি
H. ঘুপ dark	ঘোপ মৰা very dark
চুলুক hollow of the hand	চলু
চৈলী a chip of wood	চলি
চৈত্র a month of the year	চ'ত
H. ছিকুনী a stick	চেকনী a whip
H. চৌৰা a terrace to sit on and talk	চ'ৰা ঘৰ drawing room
H. ছাৰনী huts for soldiers	চেউনী trunk road made by soldiers south of the Brahmaputra
ছিদ্র weak point	চেলু advantage taken of a weakness

Original form.	Present form.
জুট matted hair	জোট লাগ get tangled as hair or rope
H. জুতা shoe	জোতা
চৌক্ to approach	চুকিপা to reach up
চৌকিত offered, given as present	চুকা finished, being given away
তাৰা a star	তাৰা
তুল to lift	তোল
B. ধৈকৰ an acid fruit	থেকেৰা
H. দিৱাৰ, a wall	দেৱাল
H. দিশাৰবী (অপৰদেশীয়) a foreigner	দেছুৰালী an upcountry man
P. দুকান a shop	দোকান
দ্রৌপদী wife of Yudhisthira	দ্রৌপদী
দৈৰ্ঘ্য length	দীৰ্ঘ
ধাৰক a washerman	ধোৱা
H. ধাঙ্গৰ a low caste man	ধেঙ্গৰ
পৈক্ষ(পৰিনক্ষ) dressed in cloth	পিক্ষ
পৌঁঙ্গু a kind of sugar cane	পুঁৰা
H. পুছ to ask; Skt. পৃচ্ছ, পোছ as in শোধ পোছ	
পুকৰ lake or pond	E.A. পোখৰ
পিলঘতি from পিল, to throw	পেলাঘ
পৌৰ a month of the year	পুহ
পুত্ৰ son	পো
ফুকাৰ to sob	ফোকাৰ, as in নিষ্পাস ফোকাৰ heaving a sigh
H. বিলগ separate	বেলেগ
P. বাজাৰ market	বজাৰ
P. বীমাৰী illness	বেমাৰ
B. বাঁকা bent	বেঁকা
H. বৈঠ়া flat	ব'ঠা, an oar

Original form.	Present form.
ভিত্তি plinth	ভেটি
ভিদ্ to penetrate	ভেজ
H. ভূখ্ hunger	ভোক
মূল্য value	মোল worth
P. মুক্ষিল difficult	মঙ্কিল
H. মুহানা mouth of a river	মোহনা
H. মোনা a basket	মোনা a bag
P. মোম wax	মুম
P. মুহৰ gold coin	মোহৰ
লিখ to write	লেখ

(It is therefore more natural to write লেখ instead of লিখ, which actually means drawing or picturing).

লিখ্য the egg of a louse	লেখি
লিঞ্চ draggled	লেটি ল
P. লিফাকা an envelope	লেফাফা
H. লূতা spider	লেতা chrysalis
H. লোঁড়া boy, Kanauji—	ল'বা

লোহিত্য the Brahmaputra	লুইত
শিরাল moss	শেলাই
সিন্দুৰ vermillion	সেন্দুৰ
সীমল্প parting line of hair	সেওঁতা
হিংগুল vermillion	হেঙুল
Mid. A. স্মৰ remember	সোৱঁৰ
H. সোদাগৰ merchant	সদাগৰ
হিক্কতি hiccoughs	হেকটি

(Words like হৈছে, গৈছে etc. appear to begin with a strong vowel. But they should actually be written

as হইছে, গইছে according to actual pronunciation, being derived from হই+আছে ; গই+আছে)

48. IV. If a conjunct occurs in the first syllable of a word the accent falls on that syllable. If it occurs in a syllable other than the first, then the accent falls on the syllable just preceding; eg, প্ৰজ (accent on the first syllable); স্থিবতা (accent on the first syllable); অৱস্থা (accent on the second syllable); অপৰিত্ব (accent on the third syllable).

49. In the following words a conjunct occurs in the first syllable. Hence according to law IV the accent falls on that syllable; but this militates against law III which operates to minimise the accent on the first syllable by destroying the conjunct. One of the consonants forming the conjunct is eliminated eg,

Original form.	Changed form.
গ্ৰাম village	গাঁও
প্ৰুচ move, go	গুচ go hence
দ্ৰোণ a measure of grains or land	দোণ
ত্ৰিনি three	তিনি
ক্ৰট to decrease	টুট
দ্ৰক্ষতি sees	দেখই, দেখে
(দ্ৰক্ষ to see occurs in the epics)	
স্তুপ a mound or a pile	টুপ, the summit
স্থগিকা a wooden tray	ঠগী, ঠগা
স্তুতি praying	তুতি
স্তুকা the hip	টিকা

Original form.	Changed form.
স্তম্ভ to suppress or stop	তস্তম্ভ cf. শোকক তস্তায়। -S.K.D.
স্থারৰ fixed	ঠারৰ
স্থিত standing	থিয় �erect
স্থূল large	থূল congregation, large
স্থান place	থান
স্থালী a cooking pot	থালী a large metallic vessel
স্থিতি position, place	থিতি
স্থাপন্ন, to bathe (transitive)	নোৱা
মেহ, affection	নেহা, Mid. A
স্বুষ্টী, daughter-in-law. (cf. বুঁটী)	নেহাবী, used by M.K.
প্রতি, each	পতি, গাহপতি, per each
প্রলম্ব, late	পলম
প্রসাৰ, spreading	পোহাৰ, a shop
প্রস্তাৱ, flat grassy land	পথাৰ
প্রেষ, to send	পেষ, Mid. A.
প্রেক্ষ, to see	পেখ, Mid. A
স্ফট, to crack	ফাট
স্ফুট, to be holed.	ফুট
স্ফুলিঙ্গ, spark of fire	ফি বঙ্গতি
ব্যা, to open	বা, বেন্ত বা, open the mouth.
ব্যাপাৰ, business	বেপাৰ
ব্রড, to sink	বুড়, বুৰ
ভাতুজ brother's son.	ভতিজা

50. In the following words a conjunct occurs in the second syllable thereby inducing accent on the first syllable (law IV). This militates against law III which operates to relieve the accent on the first syllable by destroying the conjunct in the second syllable. One of the consonants forming the con-

junct is eliminated. In the changed form of the word the accent falls on the second syllable.

Original form.	Changed form.
অস্থান, improper place	এথানী having no home
উঁকুণ a louse	ওকনি
উঁকান, fire place	উধান supports for a pot on the fire
উঁক্ষু, a camel	উট
Pk. উঁলুহ, thatching grass.	উলু
Pk. উঁটঠ, (উখ), stand up.	উঠ
উঁসাহ, energy, enthusiasm.	উছাহ
উঁলাস, buoyancy, delight.	উলাহ
উঁক্রোশ, an osprey.	উকহ
ওঁল, hostage.	ওল
কুল্য, a winnowing fan.	কুলা
কুষ্ট, leprosy	কুঠ, কুঠীয়া
কুকুৰ dog.	কুকুৰ
কুদাল a hoe.	কোদাল, কোৰ
চিকন, glossy	চিকোন, shiny
চিক, musk rat.	চিকা,
চক্ষ, eye	চকু
জৈজষ্ঠ, a month of the year.	জেঠ
ডিম, egg	ডিম
তাম্বুল, betel nut	তামোল
তত্ত্ব, true nature, truth	তত, তত ধৰ understand
তিক্ত, bitter	তিতা
তিংত (তিমিত) wet	তিতা
তীক্ষ্ণ, sharp	তিথা
Pk. তুম্হ, you	তুম
তুল্য, equal	তুল, cf. নাহি তাৰ তুল Mid. A.

Original form.	Changed form.
ধান্ত, paddy	ধান
নিক (নিক্ত), washed	নিকা, clean
নিবৰ্ব, a mountain torrent	নিজৰা, a streamlet
নিকাল, drive away	নিকাল, (used by S.K.D.)
নিম্নাক্ষিত, looked down	নিমাখিত, lowly; humble;
পূৰ' east	পূৰ
Pk. বিটটী, daughter	বেটী, maid-servant
বুদ্ধি, intelligence	বুধি
বড়, great	বৰ,
ভগী sister	ভৱী
ভাদ্র, a month of the year	ভাদ
মাত্র, only	মাথেঁ।
Pk. মিছা (মিথ্যা) false	মিছা
শিল্পিনী, woman-artist	শিপিলী
H. সাজা (সত্য) true	সচ।

51. In the following words a conjunct occurs in the second syllable inducing an accent on the first syllable (Law IV). But this militates against Law III. As a result of this conflict of tendencies the word undergoes a change called anaptyxis (svara-bhakti). In the changed condition of the word the accent on the first syllable is destroyed.

Original form.	Changed form.
অন্য others	অইন
অল্ল little	অলপ
B. আংটি, (P. angustari, ring)	আংঞ্চিটি
আৰু, (P. ābru, privacy)	আৰুৰ
কৰ্ম, religious rite	কৰম
অপৰা, celestial damsel	অপেশৰা।

Original form.	Changed form.
Arabic. খম্চ, five	খামোচ a grip with all the five fingers
H. গগ্নী, water jar	গাগবি
নেত্র, silk cloth	নেতৰ (in Mid. A.)
ৰক্ত, bent	বেঁকোৰা
ৱংশ, genealogy	বঙহ
H.বুৰ্জ, a bastion	বুৰজ
ৱৰ্ণ, colour	বৰণ
Turk.বুক্চা a load, burden	বোকোচা, a load on the back
ভৎস', to defile, rebuke	ভৰচ
ভিক্ষু, a beggar	ভিকহ (a poor man)
ভক্তি, devotion	ভক্তি
P. মন্দ, man	মৰধ
মাংস, meat	মঙহ
মার্জ, wife	মলচ (Mid. A.)
মুক্তি, salvation	মুকুতি
মুখ্য, chief	মুখীয়া, মুখ্য়াল
লিপ্ত, to adhere	লেপেটা to sit with cross legs on the ground
সৰ', all	সৰব, সৰব জান all knowing
সিক্যা a sling of ropes to hang things	সিকিয়া
স্বপ্ন, dream	স্পোন
হচ্ছে (Conditional suffix used in Mid. A.)	হেতেন

(হচ্ছে is possibly derived from Vedic হস্ত which means good-luck, gladness etc. eg 'হস্ত আচারং পৃষ্ঠানি' would be glad to ask my teacher. 'হস্ত উদ্গীথে কথাঃ

বদাম, we would like to talk about 'ନିଦଗ୍ଧେତ୍ତା'.

Dr. Chatterjee derives ହନ୍ତ୍ର from M.I.A. ସନ୍ତ୍ର)

52. In the following words a conjunct occurs in the first syllable inducing accent on that syllable. Here also in order to destroy the accent the word undergoes anaptyxis.

Original form.	Present form.
ଖ୍ୟାତି, fame	ଖିଯାତି
ଗ୍ରାସ, a mouthful	ଗରାହ
ପ୍ଲାଚ glass	ଗିଲାଚ
ଦ୍ରବ, to run	ଲବବ, ଲବ
ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟ, medicine, drug	ଦରବ
ଦ୍ଵାର, door	ଦୁରାବ
ଦ୍ରୋଗ, a kind of herb	ଦୋରୋଗ
ଶ୍ରୀର, sure	ଶୁରୁପ
ଖ୍ୟାୟତି, meditates	ଧିଯାବ
ଶ୍ରୀର, justice	ନିଯାୟ
H. ପ୍ର୍ୟାସ, thirst	ପିଯାହ
ଶ୍ରାକ, offering oblation to deceased.	ଶବାଧ
ମେହ, affection	ଚେନେହ
ଶ୍ରବ, remember	ଶୁମବ
ଶ୍ରଦ୍ଧ, taste	ଶୋରାଦ
ଶ୍ରୀକାବ, to admit or own	ଶହି କାଢ
ଶ୍ରୀ, woman	ତିବି
ଶ୍ରୀତା, womanhood	ତିବୋତା
ଶ୍ରଥ, slack, untied	ଶୋଲଥ, ଶୋଲକ

53. In the following words the vowel of the syllable preceding a syllable with a conjunct is

strengthened owing to the accent induced in that syllable.

Original form.	Present form.
কৰস্তা, doer	কৰ্বোতা
দেখস্তা, one who sees	দেখোতা
বিচাৰস্তা, one who seeks	বিচাৰ্বোতা
দেখস্তে, শুনস্তে, while seeing and hearing	দেখোতে, শুনোতে

54. In the following words Laws II and III operate to weaken the vowel in the first syllable and to strengthen the vowel of the second syllable.

Original form.	Present form.
আলস্তু, idleness	এলাহ
গ্রাম্য, belonging to village.	গ্ৰাম
জাল, eyelet	জলা
Pk. ডল, a wooden or bamboo tray	ডলা
Pk. চিল, slack	চিলা
তাল, a lock	তলা
ধূম, smoke	ধোৱা
ধাক, a support	ঢোকা
ধোত, washed	ধূতি
নাল, a tube	নলা
পুল, a bundle	পোলা
পট্ট, slab of stone	পটা
পৃষ্ঠ, back	পিঠি
ৰাচ, a kind of fish	ৰচা
বাত্তম, very well, be it so.	বাক
ৰাতঃ, wind, air	বতাহ
ৰস্ত, the foot-stock of a fruit	বেটু

Original form.	Present form.
ৰূক, the heart	ৰূক
ৰূচিক, scorpion	বিছা
ভিণ্ণ, a wall	ভেঁটা a dam
সংষ, a skeleton	সঁজা a cage

54(a). In some cases only the vowel of the second syllable is strengthened to support an accent there. eg, খৰ, sunshine, changes to খৰা; cf মাৰ্ষ মাসে খৰা পোআই ৰাজা গৌড়েশ্বৰ, —Gopichander Gān, (the King of Gaur basks in the sun in the month of Māgha).

55. When there is a conflict of stress-accent owing to the operation of the above laws, a sort of compromise is arrived at. In the following words the strong accent on the first syllable induced by a conjunct in the second syllable is on the one hand reduced by destroying the conjunct by eliminating one of the consonants; on the other hand, the weak vowel of the first syllable is replaced by a stronger vowel by way of compensation. Accent induced by a strong vowel is less than that induced by a conjunct.

In the following words অ in the first syllable is replaced by আ, এ or ও ; and ও by উ .

Original form.	Present form.
অত্ত, to-day	আজি
অন্ত, end	আঁত
অন্ত্র, entrails	আঁত
অষ্ট, eight	আঠ

Original form.	Present form.
অগ্ৰ, front, first	আংগ
অন্তৰ, distance	আঁতৰ
কংকটি, a comb	কঁকৈ
কচ্ছটী, cloth	কাচুটি
কৰ্ম, work	কাম
কল্য yesterday	কালি
থল্ল, ditch	থাল
গৰ্হি, knot	গাঁঠি
গঙ্গা, pillow	গাঁক
গণি, trunk of a tree	গাঁড়ি the body
গল্ল, cheek	গাল
গভিনী, pregnant	গাভিনী
ঘট্ট, landing place, . steps on river-side.	ঘাট
চতৰ, a quadrangle	চে তাল
চৰ' chewing	চোবা
Pk. ঢঃকণ, a cover	ঢাকোন
তঙ্গু, a spindle	তাঙুৰী
তত্, there	তাত
দন্ত, teeth	দাঁত
দৰ্পণ, mirror	দাপোন
বৰ্ধ, violating	ধাহ
Pk. নচনী, a female dancer	নাচনী
Pk. নতি, (নপ্ত) grandson	নাতি
পৰ', a joint	পাৰ
পত্র, leaf	পাত
প্ৰোষ্ঠী, a kind of small fish.	পুঁঠী
পঞ্চ, mud	পেঁক (in L.A.)
পল্যাঙ্ক, bedstead	পালেং

Original form.	Present form.
Pk. পথৰ (প্ৰস্তৰ), stone ৰক্ত, the mouth	পাথৰ বেন্ত, বেঁত cf. 'বেন্ত বাইল', opened the mouth, —Mid. A.
H. বৰী, cropped hair	বাৰৰি, bushy hair
H. বন্দুহী tempest	বাৰাহ (in L.A.)
H. বাচ্নী, a broom	বাচ্নী
Pk. ভত্ত (ভক্ত), boiled rice.	ভাত
Pk. ভল্ল (ভদ্র); good	ভাল
H. ভৰ্কি; threat	ভাৰ্কি
ভদ্র, good	ভোদা, simpleton
মণি, gruel	মাড়
মন্ত্ৰ, to call	মাত
মৰ্য, condone	মোৰ (Mid. A.)
লক্ষক, tattered cloth	লেটা cf. লেটাকানি
সৰ্প, serpent	সাপ
সৰুয়, to store	সাঁচ
সপ্ত, seven	সাত
সন্তৰ, swim	সাতোৰ
সংক্ৰ, transmit contagion	সঁচৰ

56. There are some exceptions to this compensatory lengthening of the first syllable.

(a) When the second syllable is supported by আ (ā) then the অ (a) of the first syllable is not lengthened to আ (ā). The language does not tolerate two consecutive আ (ā) in the first two syllables. e.g.:

Original form.	Present form.
H. কঠা, a measure	কঠা, not কাঠা
কঞ্চাল, skeleton	কঞ্চাল. not কাঁকাল

কৰ্পাস, cotton	কপাহ, (not কাপাহ)
কমাৰি a smith	কমাৰ, (not কামাৰ)
চঙ্গল, a low caste man	চঁগল
মন্দাৰ kind of tree	মন্দাৰ
প্ৰস্তাৰ low grassy land	পথাৰ, a field,

(b) When compensatory lengthening may cause confusion of meaning. eg; গঙ্গ means both 'a boil' and a 'rhinocerous'. গাঁড় is used to denote a 'boil' and গঁড় to denote a 'rhino'. পথ means both a 'wing' and a 'fortnight'. পাখ is used for the 'wing' and পথ for 'fortnight'. মঙ্গল gives both মৰল and মাৰল; the former is applied to mean 'halo of light' and the latter to the 'sitting room'.

57. In the following words the accent is on the first syllable. In order to avoid it a vowel আ, অ, ও or উ generally, is prefixed, so that the accented syllable automatically becomes the second syllable. Thus—

ৱল, to stretch	ভৱল, torn by stretching
P. ৱাৰিছ, guardian	ওৱাৰিছ
থৈ, parched grain	আঠৈ
ঘাতিন, killer	অঘাতিনং dreadful
ছৰ্দ, to throw	আছাৰ (to throw with jerk)
লন্দ, perpendicular	ওলম, ওলোম, to hang perpendicularly
ফ্যাটে, swells	উফ্যায়
নাহক without cause	অনাহক

মঢ়, wine	অমঢ়, Mid. A
A. লেতিয়া adhering (লিপ্ত) আলতৌয়া, sticky	
বালুক্ষ, god-like child, innocent	অবাল ব্রক্ষ অভিজ্ঞ
কুমাৰী, a virgin	অকুমাৰী
মূর্তি, embodied	অমূর্তক (fierce)

Law V. A syllable preceding or following an accented syllable tends to drop off.

58. In the following words the first syllable has dropped off as the succeeding syllable is accented:—

অনুমান, inference	উমান, indirect knowledge
অপক্ষৰ, the anus	পোকৰ
Pk. অপাগড়, abnormal (অপ্রকৃত)	পাগল, mad
অপম্বৰ, to forget	পাহৰ
অভ্যন্তৰ, inside	ভিতৰ
অৰহৰ, kind of pulse	ৰহৰ
অৰ্সো, that	সো
অমামসী, no-moon night	আউসী (মামসী)
উচ্চাৰ to utter	চাৰ (eg. চাৰ বাম নাম) —S.K.D.)
Mid. A. ইহাঙ্ক, him	আঙ্ক, আক (Mid. A.)
আমৰ্ত (অমৃষ্ট) unpleasant	মৰ্ত, obstinate
H. উধাৰ, loan (উদ্ধাৰ)	ধাৰ
উপানহ, slipper, shoe	পাণৈ (Mid. A.)
Pk. উৰঙ্গশ, to sit (উপৰিশ)	বইস*, বহ

একুনবিংশ, nineteen	উনৈশ
Mid. A. এহিমান, this much	ইমান
Pk. তেতিমান, so much	তিমান
বিটংক. loftiest place	টং, টঙ্গ (a lofty platform in the field).
বিবাহিতা, married	বেইতা
B. মাচান (মঞ্চ), a raised platform of wood or bamboo	চাং

58(a). In the following words the syllable following the accented syllable has been dropped:—

গাত্, body (accent on first syllable)	গা
অসাৰধান, careless (accent on the second syllable).	অসোধন, used by M.K.
দেথিয়, seen, in early Mid. A.	দেথি
পানীয়, water, (accent on the second syllable)	পানী
প্ৰহ্ৰ, a period of $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours (accent on first syllable)	পৰ
ৰাহ, to push; (H) to push the plough	ৰা to push
বু়ৰিয়, understood; early Mid. A.	ব়জি
ব্যৱসায়, business, (accent on first and third syll.)	বেহা
অৱাচ্য, not worthy to be uttered	অৱাইচ, অভাইচ (only two syllables)

59. Emphasis on the sense of a word.

In the language there is a habit of drawing special attention to the sense of a word when it is used to convey a sense of the 'undesirable' or 'excessive'. In order to draw this attention the privative অ prefixed to a word is intensified, that is, changed to a stronger vowel, namely, আ (ā). Sometimes an অ is prefixed to the word.

A. অগঢ়ী not shapely or
good-looking

আগঢ়ী

অথঢ়ি, childish pranks

আথঢ়ি, trouble by children

অবেলি, untimely

আবেলি, afternoon

অকাল, bad times

আকাল, famine

অতিকৈ, excessively

আতিকৈ

অতিশয়, too much

আতিশয়, (Mid. A.)

অপঞ্চ, not worthy to be
seen

আপঞ্চ ugly

অপরিগত, unripe

আপহিতা

অপূর্বীয়, not existing before

আপুরুগ্নীয়া, rare

অবিৰাহিত, unmarried

আবিৱৈ

অলয়, homeless

আলৈ, homelessness

অস্থান, having no place

এথানি state of homelessness

A. অভুৱা, not understanding

অভুৱা ভাঁড়, pretending not
to understand

অভোক, want of appetite

আভোক

E.A. অসোধন, careless

আসোধন

অসদৃশ, not similar

আসৰিস quaint Mid. A.

অস্থান, improper place

আথান delicate part of
the body

অজনা, ignorant

আজলা, very simple

অত্যদ্ভুত, অস্বাভাবিক, unusual,

unnatural

আচহৰা, strange

অলৰ, unable to move	আলৰ
বিহীনে, without	অবিহনে (accent on second syllable caused হী to হ)

60. No accent is perceptible even in the second syllable of a word where the first syllable is supported and the second syllable is not supported by a strong vowel; as in the following words:—

ইকৰা, কাৰণ, বৈতৰনী (reed, cause, river in Hades).

CONTRACTION OF WORDS.

61. Many long words in the language become shorter by dropping off one or two syllables either at the end or beginning.

গৰ্ভকৃপ, grown up, juvenile	গাভক, গতুৰা
বাহুশিখৰ, shoulder blade	বাউসী
সম্মধী, mother-in-law	শাহু
পৰিচিনোতি, recognises	চিনে
জলাবিল, a lake	বিল
জলাযুক, a leech	জোক
ৰূক্ষমৰ্কটিকা, the squirrel	কেকেটুৱা

62. Sometimes two words are joined together to form a new word. In such cases the last consonant of the first word or the first vowel of the second word is dropped to form the new word. If the second word begins with a consonant the last vowel of the first word is dropped. The new word is a contracted form of the two words put together.

আকাশ জৰী, a sling from the roof to hang things on	একাজী
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In the following combination the second word loses the first two syllables;

ଆଦ (ଅର୍ଧ) ବସ୍ତୀଆ (middle aged) giving ଆଦହୀଆ.
The word ଆଥଳ (cooking place) which shortened to ଆଥା in Bengali is most likely from ଅକ୍ଷ ଶାଳା which in the Arthashâstra means fireplace where goldsmiths work.

* The source of the instrumental suffix এৰে, is not definitely known. Dr. B. Kakaty derives it from কেৰ (কৰ) and cites in support a line from Rukminihaarā Kāvya of Sankardeva as follows:— “হেন শিশুপালকেৰে দিবো আমি বিহা” —with such a Sisupal I shall give in marriage (my sister). But the correct reading of the line in the text is— ‘হেন শিশুপাল কেসে দিবো আমি বিহা’ it is only to such a (heroic) Sisupal I shall give my sister in marriage. Sankardeva

In Bengali the words আম'দের and আম'দিগের are the results of the combination of the pairs; আমি আদির (myself and others of my class); and আমি আদিকের

PHONOLOGICAL CHANGES UNDERGONE BY CONSONANTS.

64. The consonants began to undergo changes and decay since the earliest times, notably since Pali appeared on the scene (circa 550 B.C.). These changes have been continuing unhindered since then until they have been arrested by the growth and spread of modern literature. The principal changes undergone are the following :—

- (1) Assimilation of consonants in conjunct.
- (2) Voicing of unvoiced consonants.
- (3) Loss of consonants.
- (4) Aspiration of the explosives.
- (5) De-aspiration.
- (6) Decay of the aspirates.
- (7) De-voicing.
- (8) Interchange of the gutturals and the labials.

never used কেবে in his works, nor did any other Vaishnavic writers of Assam. They always used এৰে in the sense of 'With'. এৰে is most likely derived as follows: সমেত (with) > এত > এত, এৰ plus Instrumental এ, cf. সৰ্মে used in Lower Assam in the sense of 'with'.

- (9) Interchange of the gutturals and the alveolars.
- (10) Palatalisation of the dentals.
- (11) Nasalisation and De-nasalisation.
- (12) Metathesis and Miscellaneous changes.

ASSIMILATION OF CONSONANTS IN CONJUNCT.

65. This was the first step in phonetic decay that came over the Sanskrit language and gave rise to Pali and the other Prakṛts. The first consonant in the conjunct is in many cases assimilated to the second so that the same is doubled. This doubling of consonant in place of a conjunct which was a characteristic of the Middle Indo-Aryan stage of the Indian languages, was simplified in the modern period. In the process the preceding vowel is often strengthened. Where র, ব, ল, র combines with another consonant to form a conjunct, these are generally assimilated to the other consonant.

O.I.A.	M.I.A.	N.I.A.
অঞ্চ, front, before.	অঞ্চ	আঞ্চ
আপ্ত, got	অট্ট	আট, to suffice
উষ্ট্ৰ, camel	উট্ট	উট
কৰ্ম, work	কৰ্ম	কাম
কুঞ্জ, hump	কুঞ্জ	কুঞ্জ
চৰ্জ, wheel	চৰ্জ	চাক
নৰ্ত্ত, nose	নৰ্ত্ত	নাক
পৰ্ত্ত, leaf	পৰ্ত্ত	পাত
ভৰ্ত্ত, boiled rice	ভৰ্ত্ত	ভাত

C.I.A.	M.I.A.	N.I.A.
ৰঞ্জ, bent	বংক	বেঁকা
ৰূঞ্জ, the mouth	বংত*	বেন্ত, বেঁত,
শিষ্ট, what is left	শিট্টা*	শিটা, refuse after squeezing
সপ্ত, seven	সত্ত	সাত

VOICING OF THE UNVOICED CONSONANTS.

66. Voicing of the unvoiced consonants, especially the explosive ones was very common in late M.I.A. Many words so changed have come down to modern period. Here are some instances:—

ক (k) changing to গ (g).

Pk. কুট্ৰ, to follow

গুড়, cf. খোজ গুড়ি ভালুকৰ

গৰ্ত্ত প ইলা হৰি

(following the track
of the bear etc.)

—S.K.D.

পাক, to cook

পগা, to boil milk etc.

শোক, sorrow

শোগ

ৰক, crane

বগ, বগলী

শকুন, vulture

শগুন

শুকৰ, a hog

শুগৰী (kind of small
deer)

খ (kh) to ঘ (gh)—

H. উখাৰ (উংখাত)

উঘাল, to uproot.

ছ (ch) to ঝ (jh)—

ছুপ, a shrub

B. ৰোপ> A. জোপা

ত (t) to দ (d)—

স্বাতৰি, in haste	Mid. A. দৰদৰি
প্রতোলী, a road	পদ্লী
ৰাতুলী, a bat	বাতুলী
P. দক্তৰ, office	দোপদৰ, (used in Buranji)

ট (t) to ড, দ (d)—

হপুট, up and down	Pk. থউড, up and down
খেট, chase, hunting	খেদ, drive away.

ধ (th), to ধ, ঢ (dh)—

Pk. থউড, up and down	ঢউ, ঢো, wave
মেধি, a pillar	মেধি, the principal officer in a monastery (Satra)

প (p) to ব (b)—

Mid. A. পাঘ (প্রগ্রহ)	বাঘজৰী, the reins
সংপুট, to embrace	সাবট
শ, ষ, স (x) to হ (h)—	
আশু, quickly	আহ ধান, a kind of paddy that matures early.
পশু, animal	পহ, deer
আবাৰ, third month of Indian Calendar	আহাৰ
মাস, pulse	মাহ

LOSS OF CONSONANTS.

67. The gradual enfeeblement of articulation resulted in the loss of many consonants in the late M.I.A. (Apabhrāṣṭa) period, so much so, that words

became unintelligible. Modern languages emerged as a challenge to stop this rot.

(a) Loss of ক (k)—

আকুল, dishevelled, as hair আউল
উদক্যা, woman in her courses Mid. A. উদয়া, cow in heat.

cf. 'উদয়াৰ ষাণ্ট' a bull following a cow in heat—S.K.D.

কেকৰ, squint-eyed কেৰা
জহক, a kind of wild cat জহামাল, odoriferous wild cat.

ডাকিনী, female imp ডাইনী
নকুল, mongoose নেউল
মুকুল, blossoms Pk. মউল > A মল

মাক মৰা, whose mother is dead মা-মৰা
ৰথকী, carpenter বাটৈ

(b) Loss of খ (kh)—

গাইমুখা cow-faced গাইমুৱা beardless face
মুখকৰ, turn the face মু-কৰ turn the face towards a certain direction

The word আমুৱা is basically used for “distaste in mouth” and is therefore probably derived from ‘আমুখা’ and not from ‘অস্ত্রপঞ্চ’ which means ‘causing acidity’ (Vide Section 733, Dr. Kakaty’s Assamese: Its formation etc.).

(c) Loss of গ (g)—

Mid. A. ঘাগী experienced ঘাই, chief
প্রণগ, straight পোন
ভগী, sister ভনী, younger sister

Mid. A. লাগি from লগ, to have an effect on, eg; যাইবাক লাগি, to cause going. লগ also means 'coming in contact'. eg; ঘৰক লাগি to come in contact with home, that is, to home. লাগি changes to লৈ dropping গ

লঞ্চ, a cudgel লক, stick.
সুগন্ধি, sweet-scented সোন্দা a kind of plantain.

(d) Loss of চ (c)—
পঞ্চদিন, five days পান্দিন, পাঁদিন (collq.)
বিচারিণ, forty-two বিআলিশ.

(e) Loss of ঝ (j)—
খুজিছে, he wants খুইছ, he wants (collq)
মাজনিশা, mid-night মা-নিশা

সাজতোলা collector of
rations for the abbot
of a monastery সাতোলা

(f) Loss of ড
Pk. থউড, up and down ঢউ, ঢৌ, waves.
বড়, big বড়, বৰ

(g) Loss of ণ (n)—
বূৰ্ণ, to whirl ঘূৰ, to turn round

(h) Loss of ত (t). This is very general;
here are a few instances:

অশ্বিতি, eighty আশী
অস্তৰ, impediment, screen আঁৰ
কতিমান, how much কেইমান, কিমান
থাতি, digging থাই, moat cf; গড়থাই
embankment and
ditch.
চতুঃষষ্ঠি, sixty four চৌষষ্ঠি

তাত্ৰ্য, father's equal	তাৰৈ, father's friend
পতি, husband	পৈ
পিৱতি, he drinks	E.A. পিৱৈ, পিয়ে (Mod).
ৰাত, wind	বা
শত, hundred	শ

(i) Loss of দ (d)—

আদৃশ (আদৰ্শ) model	Mid. A. আৰিস, Mod. আহি
কদল, plantain	কল
কেদাৰিক, land overgrown with grass	কেৰাবী, unfit for cultivation
কৃত্র, small	সৰু, (xaru) small
ছদ্ to cover roof with thatch	ছা
ছেদ্, to cut, a section	ছেও
পদস্থান, the foot of a bed	পথান, (generally ভৰিপথান)
মদি, a kind of harrow	মৈ, a ladder
সদৃশ, like, similar	Mid. A. সৱি, equal similar.

(j) Loss of ধ (dh)—

গোধি, iguana	গুঁই
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(k) Loss of ন (n)—

মাৰণী, a killer goddess	মাৰৈ, goddess of snakes
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(l) Loss of প (p)—

আতপী, dried in sun	আঁৰৈ, not parboiled
উপকাৰিকা, royal tent	ওৱাৰি
কপাদিকা, cowrie, shell	কড়ি
নপাৰ, can not	নোৱাৰ
পিপাসা, thirst	পিআহ, পিয়াহ
ৰশ্মী, high land	বৰি, বৰি মাটি

ৰপ, to weave	ব
স্বপ, sleep	শ্ৰো
সৰিপথ (সৰ্বপ), mustard	সৰিয়হ

(m) Loss of ফ (ph) and ব (b)—

কণ্টাফল, the jack fruit (used in old inscriptions)	কঠাল
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Arabic অৰ্বা, four	অঁৰা
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B. সবুজ, green (P.Sabz)	সেউজীয়া
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(n) Loss of ম (m)—

পম্বৰ (অপম্বৰ), to forget	পাসৰ, পাহৰ
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আত্মা, self	আত্মে, term of addressing a God's devotee
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(o) Loss of য (y)—

এহুয়, (এহি নয়), this method	এহেন, হেন such
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ছায়া, shadow, shade	ছা
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মযুৰ, peacock	মডুৰ, ম'ৰা
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(p) Loss of ব (r)—

বিজু (খজু) straight	উজু
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কমাৰ, (blacksmith)	কমাৰ
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কৰি, having done	কৈ, (adverbial affix)
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গৰ', pride	গণ
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ভদ্ৰ, good	ভোদা (too simple and good)
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ভম, a fountain	ভোম, a hole
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(q) Loss of ল (l)—

কালিলৈ, tomorrow	কাইলৈ
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গুলা, cluster	গোম, গোমা, (cf. বতৰ গোমা
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weather thickening
with cloud.

Mid. A. মলছ (মাজ) to wipe মছ

Mid. A. আলোজ (আৱজ) to bend আওজ to recline

(r) Loss of র (w)—

উৰী, earth উই white ants that generally live in anthills made of earth.

অৱস্থাস্তৰ, altered condition অথস্তৰ, misfortune.

আমাসৰাৰ, of us all আমাসাৰ

তোমাসৰাত, in you all তোমাসাত

তোমাসৰাক you all (in the accusative case) তোমাসাক (Mid. A.)

(We need not go to the inscriptional সৎক (Satka) for the derivation of the above forms (Vide Dr. Chatterji's O.D.B.L. sec. 504 and Dr. Kakati's Assamese: It's formations and development sec. 626. Sripuria and Purnea 'hamsār' (our) is from 'ham savār', of us all; Bhojpuria 'ghorāsā' (horses) is from 'ghorā sava' all the horses).

কৰৰত a saw	কৰপত্ৰ	কৰত
কৰন্ধ, headless ghost.		কন্ধ
পলৰ, basket for catching fish		পল
প্ৰেশ + ইল, entered		পশিল Mid. A.
ৰান্ধৰী, kinswoman		বাঁকৈ
বেসৰাৰ, mustard condiment		বেহাৰ, mustard
ৰোদা, wet		ওদা, moist
ৰ্যঞ্জন, condiment		আঞ্জা, curry
নৰ, new		ন
লৱৰ, to run (Mid. A.)		লৰ

(t) Loss of হ, (h)—

In many cases O.I.A. শ, ষ, স changed to হ and this হ disappeared in Modern Assamese.

Pk. অম্হে, we, (Vedic অস্মে) আমি, we

Pk. অমহাৰ, our (অস্মদঃ) আমাৰ

Mid. A. এহো (এষাম্) এন্তঃ, this person
honourific

Mid. A. এহি (এতদহি) this
very one এই this

E. Mid A. অহিত্ব (অস্মিন+ত্ব)
here ত্রিত here (Mid. A.)

P. আলহাদা, separate H. আলদা, A. আলাদা

Mid. A. ইহাঙ্ক him (denoting
proximity) ইয়াক him

Pk. উল্লুহ thatching grass উলু

Mid. A. কহয়, says কয়

E. Mid.A. কহিব, of where ? Mid. A. কৈবে Mod. ক'ব

H. গহৰা (গহৰৰ) deep গৰা precipice.

Mid. A. চিঁহৰ, to scream চিএবে

E. Mid.A. তাহান (তেষাং) his
(honorific) তান (Mid. A.)

E. Mid.A. তহিত (তস্মিন+ত্ব)
there তৈত, ত'ত

Pk. H. তুম্হে, you তুমি (singular)

H. তেৰছ (ত্রয়োদশ) thirteen তেৰ

Pk. দেহৰ, temple দেউৰী, priest of a temple

Pk. দাহক, (দাত্যাহ) ডাউক, the gallinule

Mid. A. নাহি (Pk. নথি) নাই is not

ৰহ, the shoulder of an ox ব

ৰাহ, to exert বা, to push boat, plough
or anything.

বাহনিখিৰ, the shoulder-blade.	বাউনী
Mid. A. বিহা, marriage	বিয়া
ৰঞ্জি, carrier	বনি, exciting cause of illness
Mid. A. ঘাহা go	ঘা
মহাৰ্ধ; costly	মৰগ
Mid. A. ৰহ, ৰঞ্জ, wait	ৰ
লোহ, iron	লো
শিহা, roots	শিয়া, শিয়াৰ
সহিত (সহ ইতঃ), gone together	সৈতে, with
Mid. A. গুহায়, adorns.	গুৱায়
68. Loss of Double Consonants—	
এৰও, castor plants	এৰা
গাত্ৰ, body	গা
চতুৰি, four	চাৰি
পুত্ৰ, floating	উট to float.

ASPIRATION OF THE EXPLOSIVES.

69. In Prakṛt explosives in conjunct with শ, স changed to aspirates. Words so formed have come down to Modern languages.

আন্ত (spread) Pk. অখু অ (a bed)	আঁচুৰা, a mosquito curtain
স্তৰক, a bunch	থোক
স্তৰক, Pk. থড্চ, paralised	থৰ, stiff
স্তৰ্ত, pillar	থম, থাম, থম-থমকৈ (without motion)
স্তুপ, a collection	থোপ; থুপ, gathered together.

পুস্তিকা, book (Pk. পোঁথিআ)	পুঁথি
প্রস্তাৰ, grassy land	পথাৰ a field
অষ্ট, eight	আঠ
দৃষ্ট, seen	দিৰ্ত, দিৰ্তক (woken state)
পিষ্টক, cake	পিঠা
পুষ্ট, nourished	পুঠ
Cf. তপটপবাসে দেহা আছিল স্থথাই। ভোগ ভুঞ্জিলাত যেন আপুনি পুঠায় ॥	

“Like the human body which had withered through penance and fasting became fat after eating regular food”.—S.K.D.

মুষ্টি, the fist	মুঠি
ঘ্প (sp) changed to	ঘ (ph)—
ঘ্নন্দ, to throb	কন্দ, কন্দিয়াধৰ (to throb)
ঞ্চ, ঞ্চ (sk) changed to	খ (kh)—
পুকৰ, a lake or pond	Pk. পোকখৰ, A. পুকুৰী (diminutive form)
ভাস্তৰ প্ৰিয়, ruby	বাথৰ
গুৰু, dry	Mid. A. গুথান, (dried)

70. Sometimes an explosive combines with a শ, ষ, স or হ in the vicinity to form a corresponding aspirate.

H. উস্কানা, lifting	ওখেন, a stick to lift the straw while threshing paddy
এগাশদ* eleven (একাদশ)	এঘাৰ
Mid. A. কংহ, anger (ক্ৰোধ)	খং
Mid. A. কংহাল, angry (ক্ৰোধাল)	খংগাল

Cf. “কংহাল গোমৰ নঘ” like an angry snake—M.K. also cf. “কংসাল সাংপৰ ঘেন লেঞ্জে দেস পাৰ” as if you are treading on the tail of an angry snake.—S.K.D.

গদহ*, ass (গৰ্ভ)	গাধ
গৃহ, house	বৰ
গৃহিণী, house-wife	বৰিণী, বৈনী
গ্রহণ, acceptance	ঘেন, to accept
পৃষ্ঠ, a drop	ফেটি, a drop of any liquid or its mark on the body.
বাহগত, getting pain(বাধগত)	ভাগৰ, fatigue
বিৰাহ, marriage	Mid. A. বিভা
বোৰ্ধ, sense,	
knowledge (বোধ)	ভু-পা to understand ভু, knowledge
H. পগহা, reins (প্রগহ)	পঘা, a rope to tie cattle
Mid. A. পেহলা, to throw.	(পিল) B. ফেলা
ৰহতী, a flowing stream	ভাটী; H ভাটী, down stream.
Bihari ডহৰ, flood (হৃদ)	চল, inundation.
Mid. A. নাইকে (is not)	Bihari নাইখে
70(a). Aspiration is often due to too much stress being placed on a syllable, in pronouncing a word.	
অৱাচ্য, not proper to be uttered	অভইচ্, obscene
অকৰ্পেশ্ব, formless God; Shiva	হাৰ্কৰ্পেশ্ব, a capital town of old Assam

আকটী*	অৱকট, downward	হাকুটী, a hook to pull down with.
ঈপ্সা!	longing	হীপ্সা*, হেপাহ
উৎসৱ,	merriment	হচৰি, merry making on New Year's day
H. ওৰা,	a basket	হোৰা, (basket)
কৰল,	mouthful	B. খাৰলা
কীলক,	a wedge	খিলা খিলি, a bolt, wedge.

Cf. “ভক্ত সক ভক্ত ভাঙৰ, ভক্ত মাজৰ খিলা।
চাঙৰ তলত ভক্ত আছে দেখি রেদেখিলা।।

—saints there are small and big; others in between as a wedge. But saints are even in lowly stations whom you see but fail to recognise”—Mystic Vaishnavic sayings.

কীড়া,	play	খেলা
কোড়,	the hollow in a tree	খোৰোং
কুটিকা,	coagulated milk	খিৰিচা খিৰিচীয়া
Cf.	সত্য সম্ভা বোলে অৰে চণ্ডী শুনিও; শঙ্কৰক লাগি ঘন খিৰিছা কৰিও।	—Life of Sankardeva.

শুণিচা,	daughter of king	
Indradymna		যুনুচা,
H. টাঁঁগ,	the leg (টঁগা)	ঠঁঁঁঁঁ
ত্রোটি,	bill of a bird	ঠেঁট (beak) খূতৰি, the chin; খোৰা the pestle of a Dhenki
দণ্ড কাক,	the raven	Mid. A. টোঙা কাক; টেঁৰা কাউৰী
দুৰাই,	violent wind	ধূঢাহ > ধূমহা
পৰ্মুক্তি*	(প্ৰমুক্ত) hurled	কমুঠি, any missile

পিছ, tail of a bird	ফিছা (tail of bird or fish)
বুক, the cry of an animal	ভুক্ত dog's barking
বাবৰি (H. বৰী) curly hair	ভাবৰি, scrapings; ভোবোৰা, bushy.
বেশ, guise	ভেশ, ভেশছন (বেশ ছন্দ)

71. In Middle Assamese aspiration was more common than now. It was probably due to Bodo influence which gradually wore off. But aspirated forms of many words have come to stay.

ক (k) changed to খ (kh)—

লকুট, a thick stick	লাখুটি
অঁকুন, elephant without tusk	মথনা

শলাকা, a small pin or rod	শলাখা, a door-bolt
জংগল, forest	জংবল

প (p) changed to ফ (ph)—

কর্পুৰ, camphor	কাফুৰ
চপল, fickle, rash	চফল ডেকা, volatile youth
পেঁয়ুষ, milk of cow that recently calved	ফেঁহ
পেচক, an owl	ফেচা
পাশ, a noose or cord	ফাহ
পেৰেঙনি, fork of branches in a tree (পৰ্যন্ত)	ফেৰেঙনি

ব (b) changed to ভ (bh)—

Pk. গোবায়ক, one who conceals (গোপ্তা)	গভাইত
বোৰ, (plural suffix)	ভোৰ, (used in Buranji).

ত, ট, (t, t̪) changed to থ (th) and ঢ (th̪)—

কট, grass (H. কটেয়া)	কঠিয়া, paddy-seedlings
কট, a mat	কঠ
পূর্ণ, full	পুৰ্ণ, mature, as a fruit.
ভিত্তি, plinth, foundation	ভিট্টা, ভিট্টি (in L.A.)
মাত্র, only	মাথোন
H. মোটা, only	মোটা, coarse, said of rice.
সন্তৰ, Swim	Mid. A. সাহোৰ
হাৰীত, green pigeon	হাইঠা
হাৰাশাষ্টি, loss of peace	Mid. A. হাৰাশাষ্টি
ত্ৰোটা, bill of a bird	থুতৰি, chin

ত, দ (d, d̪) to ধ (dh)—

জড, dull	জধামুৰ্ধ, stupid
P. মদ্দ, man	মৰধ
Cf. “বাহে বলধ, ভাতে মৰধ;” a bullock thrives on grass and a man on rice.	
হাৰদী* (হৰিদ্রা)	হলধি, yellow turmeric

DE-ASPIRATION.

72. De-aspiration is a feature of Modern Assamese. It is also the characteristic of some people who find it difficult to pronounce an aspirate; such as the Miris and the people of East Bengal.

ক্ষ (ks), থ (kh) change to ক (k)—

Mid. A. চখু (চক্ষ) eye	চকু
Pk. চকুখ, to taste	চাক
H. চোখা (চোক্ষ) sharp	চোকা
H. ধাংখাৰ, phlegm	থেকাৰ

Mid. A. খিলিংকাৰ	disgrace	কেলেংকাৰ, scandal
দক্ষ, expert		ডাক, a wise man
ভূ-মুখ, water-spring		ভূমুক, a spring ভূমুকি, appearance
শিক্ষা, teaching, learning		শিকা, learning
Mid. A. শুথা, to dry (শুক)	শুকা	
P. সথ্ত, strong		শকত, stout
থ (kh), ঘ (gh) to গ (g)—		
বৈশাখ, first month of the		
Hindu calender . . .		ব'হাগ
মহার্ঘ, costly		মৰগ
Pk. ঘোল, to mix		গোল; to mix in water.

72(a). ঝ (jh) to জ (j)—

Mid. A. ওৰা, teacher

(উপাধ্যায়) ওজা

ঝষ, heat	জহ
H. ঝক, emotion	জ'ক
Pk. ঝংখ, to tease	জোকা
H. ঝগৰা, quarrel	জগৰ, offence
ঝঞ্চ, jump, leaping	জাপ মাৰ, to leap
H. ঝাঁক, a flock	জাক
Pk. ঝাঞ্চ, to cover	জাপ, fold; জপা, to close
H. ঝলানা, to repair	জাল, to solder a rent
ঝিলিকা, light of sunshine	জিলিক, to shine
Pk. ঝংপুৰ, a cottage	জুপুৰি, a hut
ঝিলি, cricket	জিলি
নিঝ'ৰ, a spring or	
waterfall	নিজৰা, mountain stream
ঝাট, forest, thicket	জাৰ, জাৰনি, tangled forest



ঢ় (th) to ট (t)—

Pk. পইঠ, a path	পটি, a path beaten by use.
কঠোৰ, hard	কটুৰ, hard, harsh
H. কঠৰা, a wooden tub	কটৰা, the fulcrum of the 'dhenki'
H. ঠাঠ, pomp	ঠাট

72(b). কথ (kth), স্থ (sth), থ (th) change to ত (t)—

H. লথৰ-পথৰ, besmeared	লেতেৰা-পেতেৰা, dirty
শপথ, swearing	শপত
সিকথ, bees-wax	মৌসিতা, (misspelt) সিটা
হস্ত, hand (Pk. হখ)	হাত
হস্তী, elephant (Pk. হৎখি)	হাতী
শিবস্থান, the head of bed	শিতান

ধ (dh) to দ (d)—

আধিক্য, excess	আদিকা
ঔষধি, medicinal herb	আছদি, herbal medicine to influence the mind.
শুদ্ধ, pure	শুদ্ধা, without anything else.

ঢ (d̥h), ঢ় (r̥h), হ্র (hr) to ব (r)—

বাঢ়ম, very well	বাক, well, be it so
H. ওঢ়নী, a veil	ওবণী
বেঢ়, to enclose (বেষ্ট)	বেৰা, anything with which a place is enclosed.

ফ (ph) to প (p)—

শিফা, fibrous roots	শিপা
P. গিলাফ, a sheath	গিলিপ, pillow-cover

ভ (bh) to ব (b)—

ভাস্কৰ প্ৰিয়, ruby	বাথৰ
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হু (hn)	to	ন (n)—
চিহ্ন, sign		চিন
Pk. ক্ৰিস্তু, Krisna		ক্ৰিস্তু
Pk. জোন্হা, moon-light		
	(জ্যোৎস্না)	জোনাক
এহুয়, like this		এনে
তেহুয়, like that		তেনে
যেহুয়, like which		যেনে

[এহুয়, তেহুয়, যেহুয় are old Assamese forms most likely derived from এহি নয়, তেহি নয় and বেহি নয় where নয় means 'manner', method, instead of from 'aiśāṇa', 'taiśāṇa' 'jaiśāṇa'; as these words convey a temporal sense being derived from 'ehikṣāṇa,' 'tehikṣāṇa,' 'jehikṣāṇa.' Vide Sec. 288, 698 of Dr. Kakati's 'Assamese : Its formation' etc.

DECAY OF THE ASPIRATES.

73. Sometimes an aspirate disintegrates into an explosive and the glottal fricative হ (h).

ভ (bh)	ব (b)	and	হ (h)
ভগীশ, husband of one's sister	>	বহিনীহ	> বৈনাহ
B. ভানে (ভনক্তি), hulling paddy	>	Mid. A বহানে	> বানে
cf. " বহানে পতান যেন তঙ্গুলক আশে " -S.K.D.			
সভা, meeting.		সবাহ, assembly to offer	
		prayer to God.	

74. The aspirates ক্ষ, খ, ঘ, ঘা, ঠ, থ, ধ, ফ, and ভ were replaced by হ (h) in the M.I.A. stage. This

process has continued since, to be arrested only in the Modern period. Eg;

ভৰতি, is, becomes	Pk. হোতি
লোভ, greed	Pk. লোহ
নাথ, lord, husband	Pk. নাহ
ৰক্ষ, wait	ৰহ > ৰ
উথোৱা (উথ্য), parboiled in a pot	উহোৱা boiled
Pk. থকখট, rough	থহচ্টা
দ্বিখণ্ড, two pieces	দোহাৰ (Mid. A)
cf. “কৈক যাবি নৰসিংহ কৰিবো দোহাৰ”	—S.K.D.
শিখৰ, to stand on end, as hair	শিহৰ
Pk. ঘাড to be defeated	হাৰ
H. চংঘাৰ to scream	Mid. A. চঁহৰ > চিঙ্গৰ
লঘু, লঘৰী, not heavy	লাহী, not thick
লঘুক, light	লেহকা pliant
B. বাপসা, force of wind	হাপাস
Cf. “হাপাস লাগিল ঘূমতি ভাগিল”	—S.K.D.
Pk. ঢল, to incline	হাল, হল
Mid. A এধাত, (Pk. অঁথ)	এহেত, near here.
কথন্তি says	কহয়
কথানিকা, short story	> H. কহানি, কাহিনী, narration
যাথ, you go (plural number)	যাহ > যা
Mid. A তথাত, Pk. তৎ (তত), there, double locative	তেহেত
Pk. নংথি (নাস্তি) is not	Mid. A নাহি
B. থৰথৰি trembling	থৰহৰি (কম্পমান)
ক্রোধাল, angry	কংহাল, (Mid. A)
দধি, curdled milk	দহি, দৈ
ৰাধগত, getting pain	বাহগৰ* > ভাগৰ

74(b). ধ' (rdh) > ঢ' (rh)	
ৰধ'কি, carpenter	বাট্টে
ৰধ'নী, a broom	বাঢ়নী
শিকা, fibrous roots.	শিহা
কুকুভ, a wild cock	কুকুভা
নিভাল, to see	নিহাল
cf. “উটিল পৰ'তে তাৰ খোজক নিহালি” — S.K.D.	
প্ৰভাত+ইল, dawned	পোহাইল > পুৱালে
(Mid. A). ভৈল, became	
(ভৱতি+ইল)	হৈল, হ'ল
ভাৱাতুৰ, perplexed	হাৱাথুৰি perplexity
শোভতে, adorns	শুহায় (Mid. A).

DE—VOICING

75. Devoicing of voiced consonants came to prominence in the modern period. It is due to the influence of speakers of non-Aryan origin some of whose dialects are devoid of voiced consonants; eg, the *Āhom* language.

গ (g) > ক (k):

Pk. উগ্, to rise	উক্ দে, to relapse, as a disease.
Pk. উগ্গাল, to vomit	ওকাল
H. গুদগুদা, to tickle	কুবকুবা
B. মাগী, woman (মার্গ+ইন্ত)	মাইকী, female, wife.
P. বাজীগৰ, magician	বাজীকৰ,
ঘ (gh) > খ (kh): ঘুণ, a kind of insect that damages timber	খুন, defect

cf. “একো অদে নাহি খতি খুন”
—S.K.D.

জ, ঘ (j) > চ (c):

তিষ্ক, oblique	তেবেচা, তেবেচীয়া
মজ্জা, the marrow	মচ, the womb
	cf. “শচতো নাই, মচতো নাই” neither in the seed, nor in the womb

H. বিজ্ঞা, a fan (ব্যজন)

প্রাঙ্গন, a goad

বিচৰী

(a) পাচনী an agent deputed
to urge people.
(b) পাঞ্জনি, a whip (Mid. A)
(c) পাঞ্জনি, bidding

cf. “কংসৰ পাঞ্জনি পাই যত দৈত্য আছে”

—all those demons who received bidding from Kaïsa
—S.K.D.

75(a). দ (d) > ট, ত (t):—

P. আন্দাজ, to throw	আন্তাজ, to guess
আন্দায়, finished	আটাই, all, leaving nothing.
ছদ্দ, to cover	ছাট, to overcast

চ (ঢ়h) > ঠ (ঠh) :—

দৃঢ়, firm.

ডাঠ, firm, thick.

cf. “ইকাৰ্যে জানিবা মই ডাঠ” know that I am firm
in this business ... S.K.D.

ৰ, ব (w,b) > প (p):—

P. কিতাব, book	কিতাপ
P. খেতাব, honour	খিতাপ
বৰ, to burn (Sindhi)	পোৰ
বল, to burn (H)	পোল (Mid. A).
cf. “শুন হেৰ কুলি, তই সি মাৰ পুলি”	
Hear oh cuckoo, it is you who kill me burning —(with your melody)—S.K.D.	

Pk. খৰুৱা, mouth	খোপ, a step, notch
গৰ' ; pride	গপ
জীৱা, water	জীপ, moisture for plants.
খাৰ, to run	খাপলি, running
ঞৰ. sure	ধূক্ষপ
নিতৰ্স, the buttocks	তপিনা
ৰেপ, tremble with fear	পেপুৰা, terrified.
ৰাতান, chaff	পতান
(For রাতান see list of eleventh century Assamese words under section 81 above)	
সৰ'এব, all	সোপাই

ই> (h) স (x):

গ্রাহ, seamonster	গ্রাস, (used by S.K.D.)
নিগ্রহি, keeping in check	নিগ্রসি (Do Do)
লাহে লাহে, slowly (হেলা)	লাসে-লাসে (Do Do)

GUTTURALISATION OF LABIALS.

76. The interchange of gutturals and labials occurred in the different branches of the Indo-European language in the remote past. It is curious to find this tendency very strong in Assamese language. Here it is more in favour of gutturalisation than the opposite, although the latter often occurs. We find it in Sanskr̥t, Prākṛt and Hindi, although very rarely. Compare the following pairs of words:—

Greek Βous; Latin Bos	Skt. গো, cattle
Do Barys	Do গৰীয়স, heavy
Do Boukolos (herdsman)	গোকুল, cattle rearing tribe

Skt. পঞ্চ, five	Lat. Quinque
Do রিস্তাৰ, (to spread)	Persian, Gustar
Do বক্তুম্য, (To speak)	Do Gaftan (to speak)
Do পুৰীষ, (cowdung)	Skt. কৰীষ

76 (a). প (p) changed to ক (k):—

আঞ্চলিক পৰীষ, careful of one's
own interest. আটোমটোকাৰী, thrifty and
tidy.

পূৰ্বীয়, easterly	কুকুৰা, easterly wind.
A. ঘোপ, dark	ঘোক, out of the way place
A. ঘোপ, to scoop	ঘোক, to dig
B. পটোল,	
a creeper yielding কোৰোলালতি (mis-spelt	
a fruit for vegetable	কেৰেলালতি)
A. লেপেটা, (লিপ্ত)	লেকেটা, sticky, not brittle
ফেতুলপুটি, a kind of herb	বেতকপৰা।

ক (ph) changed to খ (kh):—

ফোপ্তাং, vain boasting	খোক্তাং, also তাংকোপ (occurs in Buranji)
উক্তি, dandruff	উথি, (in L.A.).

ব (b) and ব (w) changed to গ (g).—

B. বুটাম, a button	গুদাম
অপুৰ্বীয়, not existing before	আপুৰ্বগীয়া rarely available
ডুৰ্ব. famous, proud	(ডাঙৰ) ডাঙৰীয়া, noble man
হুৰহ, heavy	বহুহ* > গধুৰ
Pali. বচ্ছ, tree (বৃক্ষ)	গচ্ছ (গচ্ছ, late Skt)
বৈৰী, enemy	গৰীয়া, a Muslim (cf. H. গৈৰ)

B. ৰো আনা, bringing home

the bride H. গোৱা

ব্যারত্, to turn round বাগৰ. to turn, to roll

বিৰত্, to alter in condition বিগৰ, to deteriorate

B. A. ৰোবা dumb H. গুঁগা,

The Hindi Future particle গ (g) is only a gutturalised form of the Assamese-Bengali Future particle ব (b). Thus,

Mid. A. কৰিবো, I shall do H. কৰ্কঁগা

Mid. A. যাইবো, I shall go H. জাউঁগা

ভ (bh) changed to ঘ (gh):—

উভা, erected (উঁধু) উঁৰা, a spindle stuck erect on earth to spread the warp from.

অষ্ট, lost, deprived Pk, ঘট্ট, ঘাটিথা, defeated, cheated.

অমন, travelling H. ঘূমনা, roaming

অদ্ভুত, strange H. অজ্ঞুৎ. (de-aspirated).

ম (m) changed to ঙ (ñ):—

কামৰতী, lustful কাঙৰী, কাউৰী

তিগ্ৰম, very sharp টেঙা, sour

তমাল, withe of bamboo তঙ্গল

B. লম্বা, tall লেঙা, very tall

A. স্মৰে, remembers (স্মৰ) সোঙৰে, (Early Bengali)

শিমলুঙ্গি, (name of a place) হিঙ্গলুঙ্গি, (in Buranjii)

GUTTURALS CHANGED TO LABIALS.

77. This reverse process also often operates:—

ক (k) changed to প (p)

ক্রাধ,	anger	পোলা,	to look angrily
B. টাক,	baldness (Skt. হৃক)	তপা,	bald
H. ফোক,	hollow	ফোপ.	a hole, the anus.
H. ফোকলা,	hollow	ফোপোলা	
A. থোক	(গুরক) a bunch	থোপা	
H. ঢকনা,	to cover	H. ঢাপনা,	to conceal
H. চিংকবৰা,	variegated in		
	colour	চিংপথৰা	

গ (g) changed to ব (b):—

গিলা,	(plural suffix in L.A.)	বিলাক,	(plural suffix).
গুণা,	powder	বুন্দা	মাৰ, beating to dust
গোষ্ঠান,	a place for cattle	বাথান	
Pk. গোণা,	a bull	বোন্দা	মেকুৰী, a male cat
A. গৈ থাক,	go on	বৈ,	go on
নাগৰ-নাগৰী	a dandy of	H. বনৰা-কনৰী	groom and
town and his			his bride
	female counterpart		

ঘ (gh) changed to ভ (bh)

* ঘেদাইলতা		ভেদাইলতা	
অংঘৰি*	leg (অংঘি)	ভৰি,	leg
A. উঘাল,	to uproot (Skt.		

(উংখাৰ) উভাল

ঙ (঱) Changed to ম (m):—

A. সেঞ্জেতা, (সিঞ্জ) moistened সেমেকা, moist

GUTTURALISATION OF ALVEOLARS

78. ত (t) changes to ক (k):—

উত, woven	উকা, plain woven without embroidery
চমৎ (কাৰ), surprise	চমক, চক্ক, startle
B. তেছা', oblique (তিৰশী)	কেৰেটোয়া,
জিত, winning	জিক, to win
ধীত, soaked, sucked.	জেকা, water-sucked H. ধীকা
স্থিত	থিক
দাহত্য (দাহতু), the gullinule	ডাউক,
কৃত্যত, dropped, finished	H. কৰচুকা,

The Third Personal suffix 'tu' in the Singular Number, Imperative Mood (O.I.A.) has changed to 'uk' in Bengali, to 'ok' in Mid. A. and 'ak' in modern Assamese. It is not a mere pleonastic accretion.

কৰোতু, let him do	B. কৰক, A. কৰোক, কৰক
যাতু, let him go	B. যাউক, A. যাওক, যক,
ভৰতু, let it be	B. ইউক, A. হওক, হক

থ (th) changed to খ (kh):—

Pk. থংভ a pillar (স্তম্ভ) H. খংভ

Mid. A এথাত, at this place এথেত, the honourable person here.

Mid. A তথাত, at that place তেথেত, that honourable person.

এথাত যথাত, তথাত, were used as Adverbs of place in Mid. A.

B. উথল, bubbling up উথল-মাথল, bustle, hubbub

B. এই থানে, (স্থানে), in this B. এখানে
place

B. সেই থানে, in that place B. সেখানে

থাম (স্থামন), stamina থামি, courage. Eg, থামি ডার্ট
(courageous)

শ্লথ, untied শোলথ, শোলক, to become
untied, loose.

79. ড, দ (d,d) change to গ (g):—

ছিদ্, to break asunder ছিগ্

Pk. চড্ড �thunder চৰগ, lightning-stroke.
(চৰগ পৰ)

ছিদ্, vulnerable point ছেগ, opportunity.

তঙ্গক (tañdaka), a cheat টেঙ্গৰ, টেঙ্গৰ (tengar, teiar)
cunning.

দঙ্গ, a staff or wand Pk. ডংগা, a bar. (A. ডাঃ)

নিদ়িট, slanderous নির্গত, shameless.

পদ, foot H. পগ্

বদৰি, plum বগৰি

ভিদ্, to pass through H. ভিগা, soaked, wet

হৃদন, evacuation of ordure হগন, হগা

ধ (dh) change to ঘ (gh):—

Pk. ধাতী, leader ঘাগী cf. আছে এক নন্দ

গোৰালৰ ঘাগী, Nanda the
leader of the herdsmen.
—S.K.D.

ন (n) change to ঙ (ñ):—

H. ঝুলনা, to hang ঝোলোঁঙা, a wallet hanging
from the shoulder

দোলন, hanging দলং, a bridge.

পতন, fall পতং, fall, death

বিতান, spread বিতং in detail

ঞ (gn) changes to ঙ (ng):—

নঞ্চতা, nudity	নঙ্গঠা, নঙ্গতা, naked	B. ন্যাংটা
অঞ্চৰস্থা, state of fire	অঙ্গঠা, অঙ্গতা, live charcoal	

GUTTURALS CHANGE TO ALVEOLARS.

80. Here are some cases of gutturals changing to alveolars.

ক (k) to ট, ত, (t):—

Cf; Skt. মাতলি and মাকলি (both names for Indra's charioteer)

কিৰীট, diadem Pk. তিড়িড

মোক, cast off skin of snakes etc. মেট

চাকি, a lamp H. চিৰাগ চাটি (in L. A.)

শলিকা, the wick of a lamp শলিতা (Sec. 192 of Dr. Kakati's "Assamese: Its Formation.")

খ (kh) to ঠ, খ (th):—

Pk. খিলিআ (কীলক) ঠিলা

a wedge or pin or bottle stopper

A. খোলা, hollow fragment ঠোলা, a cup made of leaf.

নিমাথিত (নিমাক্ষিত)

looked down B. নিমাথিত, humble.

গ (g) to দ (d): P. গালিচা দলিচা

carpet

ধ (gh) to ধ (dh):—

ধূনীয়া (defective) ধেনা

ং (h) to ন (n):—

মৎস, in company (সঙ্গে) B. সনে

ঞ (gn) to ঙ (ংং):—

নঞ্চ, naked

লঙ্গা, Cf. “লঙ্গা টিকা পাৰি”

—Mid. A with buttocks
uncovered.

INTERCHANGE OF GUTTURALS AND PALATALS

For illustrations see section 35 (Foot note) above.

PALATALISATION OF DENTALS.

81. This began in the M.-I.-A. period. Words so formed have come to present times, but pronounced supradentally.

ত, ত্য, (t,ty) change to	চ, (c) :—
তক্ষ, to pare	Pk. চংছ, A. চাঁচ
Old Bengali তাউল, (তঙুল) rice	চাউল
নৃত্য, dance	নাচ
প্রত্যায়, coming back (to life)	Pk. পক্ষায়, A. পচা, bury under ground a seed for germination.
ৰুত, to exist	B. বাঁচ, to live
শ্বেত্য coldness	চেচা
সত্য, true	সচা
থ্য (thy) change to ছ (ch):—	
মিথ্যা, false	মিছা
দ, দ্য (d,dy) change to জ, (j):—	
ক্ষদ, to tread upon	খোজ কাঢ়, to walk. খোজ, foot print.
দ্যুত, gambling.	জুৱা
দাহ (দগ্ধ)	জাহ যা, get burnt.

*ডুৰুৰ, to sink (অড়)	জোৰোৰা, plunging
ৰাদ, sound	বাজ, to sound.
বিদূল, a kind of reed	বিজুলী বাহ
বিছাং, lightning	বিজুলী
সদ, good (সৎ)	সজ
ভিদ, to penetrate	ভেজ, enter into, be soaked.

81(a). ঢ, ধ, দ, ধ্য (ঢh, dh, ddh, dhy) change to ঝ (jh), then to জ (j):—

উদ্ধা, to go up	উজা, to go up stream, or upward.
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উপাধ্যায়, teacher	ওজা
Pk. ধীআ, daughter	জী
ধীলটা, daughter	জীয়ৰী
H. ঢাপ্না, to cover	জপনা, a gate; জাপ, জপা to close
ধ্যাম, become fade	জামৰ, to shrink, be reduced
H. ঢাবৰ, filth, dirt	জাবৰ, refuse
প্রধ্যায়তে, meditates	পৰায়, takes rest and thinks

cf. “সুতিয়া পৰারে সেহি তুনৰ ওপৰে” —Lying—on the same grass (of which the cows ate their fill) they chew the cud with closed eyes as if they are thinking something.....S.K.D.

H. ধীকা, Watery (ধীত)	জেকা, moist
বুধ্যতে, understands	বুজে
বেধ, piercing	বেঙ্গী, a needle
মেধি, pillar (Pk. মেধি)	মেজি, pile of fuel set on fire on a ‘Bihu’ day.
যুধ, to fight	যুজ
শাধৱতে, pay off	শুজে, pay off debt.

METATHESIS

82. Metathesis, that is, the interchange in the positions of sounds in a word, has played a very important part in altering the shape of words, often beyond recognition. Such instances are abundant in Assamese.

/ PLACE-CHANGE OF VOWEL SOUNDS.

P. আৰু, honour	আৰুৰ, privacy
Mid. A আৰিস, model (আদৃশ)	আছি cf. “নাহিকে আৰিস যাক চাহিয়া লিখিবো” —Dwijabhuṣan
P. আৰে, yes	এৰা
ইছৰ, sugarcane	কুসিআৰ; কুহিয়াৰ
Pk. উৰুৰ, to dig	ৰোক
উট, to carry burden	H. ঢো
Pk. কিন্হ, cloth	কানি
Pk. কচ্ছাটি, end of cloth tucked behind	কাছুটি, loin cloth
কোকিল, the cuckoo	কুলি
(গৰ্ভ রূপ,) গাভক, grown up (said of a girl)	গভুৰা, (said of a boy)
H. গাউৰানি, driving of oxen	গাৰোৱান, a cartman
চুম্প, kiss	চম্প, proximity
চন্দ্ৰাতপ, shamiana	চন্দ্ৰাতপ
Pk. ছাৰ (শাৰ), young of an animal	ছৰা, ছৰাল, (boy)
B. জোৰাৰ, tide	জাউৰ, overflow
*ধূম্বাহ (দ্রৰাহ)	ধূম্বা, (tempest)
তলাচী, a mat	তলিচা, thick bed-cloth

পুঁঁ, silkworm	পলু
ৰাসি, an adze	বাইছ
বডিল, fishing hook	বৰশী
কৃদ, small	সৰ
সাধু, merchant	সাউদ
সঙ্কিল, a breach in the wall	B. সিঁধ; A. সিঙ্কি
স্বীয়, of one's own	সঞ্জি, (Mid. A)
cf. "সঞ্জি হাতে বধি আছে আপন মামাই" —killed his uncle with (his) own hand—S.K.D.	
হবিদ্রা, turmeric	হালধি
এহুয়, such (Mid. A)	এহেন, হেন
ঈপ্মা, longing	*ইপ্সা, হেপাহ

PLACE CHANGE OF CONSONANTS.

83. আলোড, shaking, stirring	আওডাল, shaking something in water
আলোক, to see	আকল, to perceive
মাতৃৰ্য, mother's equal	আইম, mother's friend.
ৰংকৰী, a rib	কামি, Mid. A. কামি, a horizontal piece in a fencing.
কাংক্ষা, appetite	খেক, voracious appetite
তিয়ৰ্ক, oblique	কাতি, slanting, lying কতীয়া, on side.
ইৰ্বা, envy	*বিআৰ, খিয়াল
তুৰ্হ, heavy	*বছুহ> *বধুৰ> গধুৰ
কুচিকা, coagulated milk	চেকুৰা বাক্স, turn to solids.
পাটলি, a cover (পটল)	টাপলি, overlaid piece of cloth.

H. পোটলা, bundle	টোপোলা
লেটেকু, a kind of plum	টেলেকা, protuberant (said of eyes)
H. গদৰা, half ripe	ডকৰা, half ripe or half dry
বাবুদ, cloud	ডারব
ক্রড, to sink	B. ডুব
দাতুয়হ, the gallinule	ডাহত্য > ডাউক
নিতন্ত, the buttocks	তপিনা
ত্রোটী, the beak	থুতৰি, the chin
H. পর্তা, layer	তৰপ
বসোন, garlic	নহক
নাগৰ-নাগৰী	বনৰা বনৰী
প্ৰৰোহ, a shoot of light	পোহৰ
ৰাতৰা, information, message	বতৰা, বাতৰি
H. অম্বৰদ, guava	*মছুব আম, মধুবি আম
মৰ্দ, to rub	মোহাৰ
মৃগাল, the root of lotus	মোলান
দল, a piece or fragment	লড়া, a clod
দ্ৰৱ, to run	B. দউৰ, A. লৱৰ, লৰ
লডহা, beautiful	লাহৰ, লাহৰী
H. লচক, flexible	লেকেচি, a switch of bamboo.
তকু, spindle	তাৰুৰি,
হেলা, ease	লাহে-লাহে, with ease, slowly (Cf. হেলয়া)
হেঠ, vexatious opposition	ঢেহ, crossy obstinacy.
লঘুক, light	H. হাল্কা, thin
*হগৰ, hog (শূকৰ)	গাহৰি
Cf. শূগৰী পছ, a deer of the size of a hog.	

84. Sometimes the aspiration is transferred from one syllable to another.

কোঠালি, a room (কোঠ) খেঠালি

Pk. ষড়, to make গঢ়
(Skt. সংঘট)

H. গুৰু, a cave শোপা, dark

A. পোহৰ, light East. B. কঅৰ, B. ভোৰ

অভিলাস, longing হাবিলাস, হাবিৱাস

A. আঠু, knee, (অষ্টি or অস্তি) B. ইঠু

NASALISATION

85. Nasalisation developed in India in the M.I.A. period. It is found profusely in Middle Assamese. It has worn off to a great extent in Modern Assamese.

86. In most cases as a rule, we find that a ৰ (r) in conjunct with a consonant is often replaced by a class nasal. In modern Assamese this class nasal has been reduced to a mere nasal twang represented by the *candravindu* (ঁ) placed on the preceding syllable. Sometimes the class nasal is retained and the consonant to which it was conjoined is dropped. Sometimes the ৰ (r) in conjunct is replaced by the *anuswar* (ং)

অঙ্গ, tears H. আঁঙ্গ

উৰী, the Earth উঁই, white ant.

উষ্টু, the camel উঁট

ককট, crab কেঁকোৰা

ক্রোধ, anger	Mid. A. কংহ (Cf. কংহাল গোম, angry serpent)
ঘৰ্ষ, to rub	ঘঁহ
ত্ৰোটী, beak of bird	ঠোঁষ, ঠোঁট
নিদা, sleep	H. নীদঁ
তে সৰীঁ, they all	তাসম্বা
দুৰ্বীহ, high wind	*ধুমুহা, ধুমুহা (H. বন্দুহা) L. A. বানাহ
প্ৰাঙ্গন, a goad	পাঞ্চনী, a whip.
ৱক্তু, mouth	A. বেন্ত, বেঁত
Cf. "মাহৰ মান দেথি তিলে বেঁত মেলিলৈ" —seeing the beating meted out to pulse sesamum opened its mouth.	
ৱক্তু, curved	বেঁকা
মহার্থ, costly	মহঙা
মাত্ৰ, only	মাঠেঁ।
মার্গ, seek	H. মাংগ
মার্গ, path	মাং
স্রোত, current	দেঁত
প্ৰতি, towards, to	(Oriyā) পাই; cf. দিবা পাই (to give).

87. There are many cases of nasalisation independent of a (r) in conjunct:—

Pk. অট্ট (আঞ্চ), got	আঁট, suffice
অশ্বখ, Pipul tree	আঁহত, আঁশত
ওষ্ট, lips	ওঁঠ
কু+অধস, bad and low	কুন্দস, ugly
কুহেলিকা, fog	কুুঁলি
কোশ, a bud	কোহ

কুদ, to pound	খুন্
গোধি, the iguana	গুঁই
ঝটিতি, quickly	ঝাট্টে
H. দাহ, spite, malice (দাহ)	ডাঁহী সাপ (vicious serpent).
পূৱ, pus	পুঁজ
বিধ, to pierce	বিন্ধ
ফট, expanded hood of serpent	ফেঁট
যুক্ত, yoked	জেঁট
স্বীয়, one's own	সঞ্চি, (Mid. A)
সত্তৰং, speedily	সেঁথৰে, (Mid. A).
হাসিকা, laugh	হাঁহি

88. The change of ক, (k) to ঙ (n), of প, ব, ভ, র to ম (m) and of ল (l) to ন (n) is the effect of nasalisation :—

(a) ক (k) to ঙ, ব (n) :—

A. চোৰাক, stealthily	চোৰাং, smuggling
টেকোন, a thick stick	টাঙেন, টোঙেন
পাক, twist	পাং, to scheme
বিপাক, calamity	বিপাং, dilemma, calamity
সেকেতা (সিক্ত), moist	সেঁজেতা, dampness
A. সেৰেকা, tasteless	সেৰেঞ্জা, thin

(b) প (p), ব (b), ভ (w) ভ (bh) > ম (m).

গ্রোংছন, wiping	মোছ, to wipe
Mid. A কৰিবো, I shall do	B. কৰিমু, A. কৰিম
H. তৰুজ, water melon	তমুঁজ
বিনতি, bowing	মিনতি, entreaty
ৰেষ্টনী, girdle	মেঠনী, cloth wrapped by women below the arms.

ৰেষ্ট, to twist round, roll. Mid. A মেহা, Mod. মেৰা

Cf; “ মন্দাচম্বৰদাকাশং ৰেষ্টিষ্যান্তি মানবাঃ ” when men shall roll up the sky like a sheet of leather !—Upa.

H. ভবক্ত, sudden burst ভমক্ত, burst of sentiment of flame or flame.

B. নিভা, to be extinguished লুম্বা Mid. A নিমা উভো-স্বত্তীয়, under control উভৈ হতীয়া, belonging to of both two or more people.

(c) ল, (l) > ন (n):—

H. লছৰ্তা, a skein of thread নেচা

A. লড়ে, moves B. নড়ে

লাঙ্গল, the plough নাঙ্গল

লাঙ্গ, tail নেজ

Pk. লোঠ, to gin cotton নেওঠ

লংগুল, the tail নেওৰ

পলাঙ্গু, onion পনক

89. A consonant in conjunct with a nasal of its own class is sometimes dropped resulting in complete nasalisation.

ঙ্ক (ṅk) to ঙ (n):—

পৰ্যঙ্ক, the posture of sitting ফেৰেঙ্ক+নি, a fork of with thighs wide apart branches on a tree.

[পৰ্যঙ্ক, gives two derivatives, viz, ফেৰেকা and ফেৰেঙ্ক।
পল্যঙ্ক, a bedstead পালেংং

Mid. A বেঙ্কা, (ৱক্ত) bent বেঙ্কা one who distorts his mouth when speaking.

ঙ্গ, (ṅg) to ঙ (n) :—

অঙ্গ, the body আং, vital part of the body

অঙ্গিকা, a bodice	এঙ্গা, short coat
H. ডোঙা, a trough	ডেং, a trough; ডেঙা, a little pool of water
H. চোঙা, a tube	চুঙা
লঢ়, connected	লানি, continuity
ঝ (nkh) to ঝ (ñ):	
পুঙ্খা, feather	পুঙা, float made of hollow stem of feather, quill.
ঝ, (ñgh) to ঝ (ñ):—	
শিঙ্গ, to smell	শং
ঝ (nd) to ন (ñ):—	
কৰঙী, flower basket	কৰণি
ঝ (ndh) > ন (ñ):—	
সঞ্চা, mixing together	সান্ H. সন্ (mix together).
ঝ (nt) > ন (ñ):—	
আচন্ত, কৰন্ত	B. আচেন্, কৰেন্
ঞ্চ (mp) > ম (m):—	
চুলুঞ্চা, a goat	চুলুং > চুলুং light brained.
ঝ (mr), ঞ্চ (mb) > ম (m):—	
লঞ্চ, to hang	ওলম্
আঞ্চ, mango	আম
আলঞ্চ, to depend upon	আলম, support
চুঞ্চ, kiss	চুমা
ডোঞ্চ, a low caste	ডোম
তঞ্চ, a tent	তামি ঘৰ, used in 'Buranji'
তাম্বুল, areca nut	তামোল
শঙ্চুক, a bivalve shell	শামুক

শম্ব, ploughing a second time শমাৰ

সম্বন্ধ, relation সমন্ব

ম্ব (mbh) to ম (m):—

কুম্বকাৰ, a potter কুমাৰ

DE-NASALISATION

90. While nasalisation was noticeably strong in Middle Assamese, de-nasalisation gradually prevailed in Modern period. First a class nasal in conjunct is replaced by the *candravindu* ু which stands only for a nasal twang. This is also gradually disappearing. Following are some cases of reduced nasalisation:—

অন্তৰ, distance	আঁতৰ
অন্তৰ কপটি, a screen	আঁৰ কাপোৰ
কম্প, to tremble	কঁপ
Mid. A. কৰন্তা doer	কৰৈতা
কাংশ্চি, bell-metal	কাহ
কামৰতী, passionate woman	কাৰ্বী
গুণিকা, powder	গুঁড়ি, গুৰি
গঙ্গ, rhinoceros	গঁড়
চমক, surprise	চঁক startling
চঙ্গল, a low caste	চঁড়াল
Pk. ঢংক. to cover	ঢাক
Mid. A. ঢোঁঞ্চা কাক a raven	ঢোঁঢ়া কাউৰী
দণ্ড, penalty	দঁড়ী, compulsory.
দণ্ড, a pole	দাঢ়
দোখণ্ড, two pieces	দোখৰ, piece
Mid. A. দেখন্তে while seeing	দেখোতে

পুঁগু, variety of sugarcane	পুঁৰা
ৰঞ্জী, unchaste woman, ৰঞ্জ বঁৰী	a widow
ৰংকা the pummel of a saddle	বাঁওকা a bent pole to carry load
সঞ্চ, leaf to write on	সাঁচি পাত, bark of trees used as paper.
সঞ্চয়, storing	সাঁচ, to lay up.

90 (a). In the following instances the nasal in conjunct with another consonant is completely eliminated.

অগ্নিকুণ্ড, basin of fire	জুই কুৰা
Mid. A. খণ্টা, a dacoit	খটাস্বৰ, mischievous fellow
Pk. ঝঁথ, to tease	জেঁকা
Mid. A তিস্তা wet (তিমিত)	তিতা
পাৰংগম্, surmounting	পাৰগ, capable
ভঁগ, broken	ভগা
লঙ্ঘন, fasting	লঘোন
লুঁষ্ট, to rob	লুট্
হস্তে, (ablative suffix in Mid. A.)	B. হইতে
Mid. A হণ্ট, market place	হাট
	(হট্ট)

The change of ন (n) to ল (l) is a case of de-nasalisation.

অজনা, not knowing	অজলা, stupid
P. কাৰ্থনা workshop	কড়খলা, (used in Buranji)
উন্ধ়ন, naked (উনংঘ)	উলংঘ
নৰনীত, butter	লৰমু
লানি, continuity	লালি
ৱৰ্ণ, colour	বোল

Change of ম (m) to ব (b):—

যমনিকা, a screen	যবনিকা, screen on stage
মাতৃ, mother	Pk. বাই, mother.

(বাই in the sense of 'mother' is used in Western India; A. elder sister.

DECAY OF THE LABIALS

91. Decay of the Labials in the Assamese language began in the Middle period. In Modern period it became more pronounced.

(a). প্র (pr), প (p), ব (b), ব (w), decayed to উ, ও.
অজ্ঞাগব, waking state
প্রশ্বাস, breathing inward
উপমোদ or প্রমোদ delighting

Mid. A সপটে, immediately সাউৎ কৰি

(সপদি)

cf. উপজিলা পুত্র পাচে দেখি গোপ নন্দে,
সপটে কৰিলা স্বান পৰম আনন্দে —S.K.D.

ক্ষেপ, to throw	গেঁও, a throw of the net or oar.
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অঙ্গপালি, embrace	অঁকোৱাল
নপাৰ, not able	নোৱাৰ, cannot

Mid. A নপৰা, sickness	নোৱৰা > নৱিয়া sick
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স্বাপৱ, to bathe (transitive sense)	নোৱা
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P. সৰজ, green	সেউজীয়া
অৱনী, the Earth	আউনী পাণ, a kind of betel creeper that trails on earth.

আৱৰ্ত্ত, melting of metals	আউট, melting metals.
আৱৰ্ত্ত, deliberation	আউট, think over and over.
ৰত্, to turn round	ওলট, to return
ৰ্যক্ত, revealed	ওকট, to divulge
ৰষ, raining	উকখ, to leak (as a roof)
ৰবিষ* ৰ্ষ্য, kidney bean	উৰহি
ৰক্ষ, to swell	উথহ
ৰিপ্রতি, wickedness	উভতি
চেলাৰতী, like a centiped	চেলাউৰী, eyebrows which locks like a centiped 'চেলা'
দেৱ, god	দেউ, priest
দেৱতা, god	দেউতা, father
ধাৰত, running	ধাউতি, longing
নৰ মুকুল, new bud	নোমল, the last born
পুত্ৰৰৎ, as to a son	পুতো, pity
মাঠৰতী, like a road	মঠাউৰি, embankment serving as a road.
যারত্যুগ, as long as a 'yug	যাউতিযুগীয়া, ever lasting.
লৰণ, salt	লোণ
শাপ, curse	শাও
স্বপ্ন, to sleep	শো
স্বকীয়, one's own	স্বকীয়া, reserved, separate
স্বণ, gold	সোণ
তৰ, yours	তো (cf. "তো মুখ চুম্বি" —Caryāpada).

93. ম (m) decays to অঁ (an), উঁ (un), ওঁ (on),
ৰ (w) and ৰঁ (wan).

অমামসী, no-moon blackness আঁওঁসী, no-moon night.

মাংসীয়, pertaining to raw flesh	আঁহীয়া, অঁহীয়া, smelling like raw meat
আত্রাণ, repetition	আন্তৰা, learn by repetition
আৰ, not ripe	এৰ্বা, quite immature
P. আমদানি, income	ওৰাদানি, plenty
কুমৰ prince (used in Mid.A.)	কোঞ্ব, কোঞ্ব
নাম, name	নাও
গ্রাম, village	গাঁও
জামাত্, son-in-law	জোৱাই
বাঢ়ম, alright, well	বাক
ভূমি, land	ভূই
ৰ্যাম, a measure of length	বেঁও
মা-মৰা, one whose mother is dead	মাউৰা
Pk. মজ্বিম, middle মধ্যম	মাজিউ, মাজু
স্থামন, stability	থাউনি, bottom of lake, river etc.
শ্বাম, black	শাঁও বৰণ, light black colour

94. The prefixes অপ, অৱ, উপ degenerated to আ, আও and ও

অপকাঠ, inferior wood	আওকাঠ
অপমৰণ, unnatural death	আওমৰণ
অৱক্ষালন, purificatory washing	আওখাল
Pk. অপহৰিত stolen (অপহৃত)	আহৱি, finished, spoiled
উপচৰ, approach	ওচৰ, nearness
উপাধ্যায়, teacher	ওজ্বা

অৱট, hole in the plinth	ওটা
উপকাৰিকা, royal tent	ওৰাৰি,
উপবৃত, return	ওভত

95. The Cerebrals ট, ড and the Dentals ত, দ
changed to ড, ব (r).

Pk. কঞ্চড, cloth (কপট)	কাপোৰ
Pk. কড, done (কৃত)	কৰা
কপাট, door	কোৱাৰি, the jaws
কুকুৰী, hen	কুকুৰী

cf. কুকুৰী আৰাৰ কৰে," the hen crows
—Mādhavadeva

আতপী, sun-dried	আৰৈ
ইকট, reed	ইকৰা
উজ্বাট, abandoned	উজ্বা, উজ্বাৰ
উদ্বৃত্তি, upside down	উবুৰি
A. উদং, empty, not enclosed, uninhabited	উকঙ্গা, lonely
দ্বাদশ, twelve	বাৰ (হ)
Pk. এড়, part with	এৰ, release
থটক মুচুট, a blow with half closed fist	থকৰা মুকুট
Pk. পোড়ি, wood	থৰি, fuel
গাড়ী, a cart	গাড়ী
Pk. গোড়, foot	গোৰ, গুৰি, (foot of a tree etc.) or. গোৰে,
গ্রামতে, in village	ঘৰাৰ
দোটক, horse	নিগড়, to ooze out
গড়, to flow	নিগড়, to ooze out
ষটিকা, measure of time	ষড়ি, clock.
চটিকা, a bird	চৰাই
চপেট, slap with the palm	চৰৰ, চৰ

চেট, servant	চেৰ, চেৰী, (Mid. A.)
95.(a). চড়, to mount চৰ, to ride, to exceed.	
চেলাৰৎ, like a centiped + ই চেলাউৰি, (eye brows)	
Pk. ছোড়, to give up	ছোড়
জাড়, cold	জাৰ
তট, shore, bank	তৰ, land
তত, to spread	তৰ
ছুড়ি, small tortoise	ছুবৰা
হৃগ্ধ বৰতী, milky	হৃদৰি, (said of unripe corn).
Pk. ডৰ পটল, cover at the beginning	দৰা পৰলি, the first layer of thatch on the roof.
H. নেঁয়াতা, invitation(নিমন্ত্রণ) নেউৰি, invitation by a relative.	
পটল, chapter	পৰাল, the different stages in husking paddy.
পলাতক, fugitive	পলকৰা
প্রতিসৰ, retinue	পৰিসৰ
পংক্তি, line, array	পাৰি, a row
ফুলৱতী, flowering	ফুলৰি
ৰঙু, bachelor (+ la)	বৰলা
ৰাটা, homestead	বাৰী
কুড়, to sink	বুৰ, বুড়
বাধ গত, harassed, pained	ভাগৰ, fatigue
বধুটা, daughter-in-law	H. বহৰী, বহৰিয়া, বোৱৰী
ভদ্ৰৰৎ + ই, goodness	ভালৰি, friendliness
মাঠৰৎ, like a road + ই	মঠাউৰি, embankment.
মণ্ডল, assemblage	মাৰল ঘৰ, drawing room
বুট্টি, twenty (used in Tezpur inscription)	বুড়ি, (রিংশতি)

বেষ্টি, to enclose	বেঢ়া
স্তু > ব; ক্ষুদ্র, small	সক, (vowel matathesis).

95.(b). The following are possible derivations:—

অস্মদঃ, ours	> আহ্মাৰ > আমাৰ
যুস্মদঃ, yours	> তুম্হাৰ > তোমাৰ
মদঃ, my	> মৰ, মোৰ
মদীয়, belonging to me	> মেৰ
তুদীয়, yours	> তেৰ, তেৰা

The ব (r) in these Pronouns in the Possessive Case was subsequently isolated as a Possessive Case ending and applied universally to all nouns and pronouns, in the Eastern Indian languages. The Possessive Case endings—অব, -ব, -এব, according to Grierson and Chatterjee are derived from -কৰ, কেৰ, -কাৰ all derived from ব (কৰ),

চ, (ঢh) > চ, (ঢh)

Pk. পচ, to read (পঢ়) পচ

95(c). দ, দ্র, ড, (d,dr,ঢ) change to ল, (l) :—

আমোদ, sweet scent	আমোল -মোলা to emit
উপমোদ, to play	ওমোল [sweet scent

ক্রোড, lap কোল

H. গৰণ্তি, enclosure of mud গঁৰাল

ছিদ্র, vulnerable point, lapse ছেলু

ভদ্র, good ভোলা, too good

পুঁৰি, silk worm পলু

বদ, to speak B. বল, A. বোল

Pk. মুকুড (মুক্ত), free, unfastened মুকল, মুকলি

দ্রব, to run লৱৰ, লৰ

Pk. ডৰব, left hand লেবেৰা (হতীয়া), left handed.

96. ল, (l) changes to ড, দ, (d,d) :—

A. উলদ, naked (উলদ) উদং

উদং, also secondarily means 'unrestrained', 'empty'.

Pk. ষোল, mixed ষোদা, mixed with dirt

খেলা, play খেদ, (collq), to play.

লজ্য, to go by leaps B. ডিঙা, to step over

A. ডে, ডেগ also ডেওনা, a low fence to cross over.

97. ব, (r) changes to ল, (l) :—

আৱৰ্জ, to bend down Mid. A. আলোজ> আওজ

ৱৰ্ত, to return ওলট

কতিৱাৰ, how many times কেই বেলি

গৃ, to swallow গিল

ঈৰ্ষা, envy থিয়াল

P. গৰ্দান, back of neck গল্ধন

চতুৰ, a quadrangular space চোতাল

চতুৰিংশৎ, forty চলিশ

P. জওৰ force জোৱাল

(cf; "ছুছাতে জোৱালে ধাকুৰে হিয়া" S.K.D.)

ডোৰ a string ডোল

Bihari ডহৰ, flood (হৃদ) ঢল

তক্ক, to ascertain তলক

দীঘৰ*, long (দীৰ্ঘ) দীঘল

নীশাৰ, blanket নিহালি

পৰিবাৰ, family, পৰিয়াল

ৱঙ্গৰ, eunuch বৰলা, (bachelor) ?

ভাঙ্গাৰ, store house ভঁৰাল

ঘূঞ্জ, to wipe মলছ, (Mid. A).

Pk. মিসৰ, mixture (মিশ্র) মিহল

ৰজু, rope	লেজু
সাৰিকা, a common bird	শালিকা
98. There are also a few instances of ৰ, (l) changing to ৰ, (r).	
উৰ্কা, a shooting star	উক্রা a lump of burning grass that sometimes rises from jungle fire to the sky.
খল, the sun	খৰ, খৰা, sunshine.
পীলক, a large ant	পৰুৱা
লাঙুল, tail	নেঞ্জৰ
Pk. ৰোল, multitude	ৰোৰ, (plural suffix; eg. গৰু ৰোৰ)
পঙ্গুল, lame	পেঞ্জৰা
P. লিহাফ, upper garment of women	বিহা

MISCELLANEOUS CHANGES.

99(a). ত্ম, (tm) changes to প, (p).

আত্মন, self	আপোন
উৎমঞ্জ, to float (cf; উন্মজ্জ rise from water)	Mid. A. উপং
তৎমন, mentally absorbed + ই টোপনি sleep	

99(b). প, (p) changes to ভ, (bh) :—

বিৰতি, wickedness	উভতি, vexation
পীড, to press	ভীৰা, to bend (as a bow).
উডুপ, a raft	ভুঁৰ, (by Metathesis)
তুম্পি, you also	H. তুম্ভি

99(c). ম, (m) changes to ন, (n) :—

বীতোপম, matchless বিতোপন, excellent.

মূৰ, to encircle মূৰা, roll; মুৰিয়া

99(d). ক্র' (rdhv) > ভ (bh) :—

উৰ', erect উভ, to erect.

উভহা, with fibres

erect, therefore not
smooth

99(e) হ, (hy) to জ, (j) :—

ৰহ, to be carried বোজা, load

বাহ, external বাজ, outside.

Interchange of the Semi-vowels, the Liquids and
of হ, (h).

100. The interchange of these sounds com-
menced in the Mid. Assamese period, but became
pronounced in the Modern period.

ঝ, (v) replaced by ঝ, (y) :—

পৰিৱাৰ, family পৰিয়াল

শৰাৰ, a dish with a stand শৰায়, শৰাই

শৈৰাল, moss শেলায়, শেলাই

ঝ, (v) replaced by ঝ, (r) :—

A. কাহ+উৱা, suffering কহুৰা,
from cough.A. তিক্তা সেৰিক, much তিক্তা সেকৰা
attached to wife

দেৱ গ্রাম, a Brahmin village দেৱগাঁও

ধাৰ, to run ধাৰ, chase.

(cf; ছিদ্র পাইয়া দানৱে দেৱক দিলে ধাৰ
—getting an opportunity the Dānavas gave chase to
the Devas—S.K.D.)

A. ভাঁ+উৰা, adicted to hemp	ভঙুৰা
ৱণী, unchaste woman (cf. ৱণা)	ৰাণী, widow.
উৎসৱ, merrymaking in 'Bihu' festival (+ ই)	হচৰি

ৰ (v) replaced by ল (l) :—	
আৰেশিক, guest	আলহী
Pk. বিৰই calamity (বিপদ) বিলে	

ৰ (v) replaced by হ (h) :—	
গৰ', pride	গহ
দানৰ, demon	দানহ, (collq).

100(a). ল > হ > স	
পলল, ' mud	পলস. silt

ল > ৰ	
পলাল, straw	পোৱাল

ল > ৰ (see section 98)	
ৰ > ৰ	

বিচয়, to search	বিচাৰ
ৰ > ল	

Pk. অপাগঘ (অপ্রকৃত)	পাগল, mad.
abnormal	

ঘষ্টি, a stick	লাট্টি, Pk. লট্টি
ঘ > হ	

Pk. খলিয়া, oilcake	খলিহৈ
ক্ষয়বোগ, consumption	খেহবোগ

Pk. গোয়াৰি, begging	গোহাৰি, entreaty.
ছায়া, shadow	Pk. ছাহা, ছাহ, (colloq).

Pk. নিয়ৰ (নিগড়) chain	নিহল
ঠায়, to see	B. চাহ, চাহনি, glance
H. চায়, tea	চাহপানী

100(b). ৰ > রঃ—

কৰল, did	কৱল, (vaishnavic)
ৰ > ল — (see section 97)	

ৰ < রঃ—

কুৰৰ, osprey.	কুৰৰা
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ই > যঃ—

নিহাৰ, fog	নিয়ৰ
*বলিহা (বালিশ, fool)	বলিযা, mad
ই > রঃ— কুহেটী, fog	কুৰলী, Mid. A. কুহৰি
ৰহতী, flowing stream	বোৱতী
পহাতী* (প্ৰভাতী) dawning	পোৱতী, পুৱতী
শুহায় (শোভতে) adorns	শুৱায়
হেলি, the sun	ৰেলি > বেলি, sun
অহনিশি, day and night	অৱনিশি, (Mid. A.).

100(c). ই replaced by ঈ or উঃ—

Pk. ঠাহ, place	ঠাই
H. অথাহ, unfathomable	অথাই
দেহকোষ, the wings of a bird	ডেউকা, ডোকা

কটাহ, cauldron	B. কড়াই
H. ধাহ, yelling	ধাউ

(cf. “হেন দেখি ভৱে ধাই ধাউ গেৰি দিলা”)
—Seeing this the ‘āyāh’ called out yelling—S.K.D.)

CHANGES UNDERGONE BY VOWELS

101. An অ (a) in the first syllable is often changed to ও (o). It is due to various causes. In some cases—

(a) ও being a stronger vowel than অ is induced by the accent on that syllable in the original word:—

গৰ্ক, smell	গোৰ্ক্ৰ
ক্ষণকাল, soon	সোনকাল
ক্ষমহস্ত, able hand	সোঁহাত, right hand
প্রসাৰ, spreading	পোহাৰ, shop.
বদ, speak	বোল
ভম, a water hole	ভোম. a hole,
ভমৰ, black bee	ভোমোৰা,
সঞ্চৰ, infects	সোঁচৰ
চৰ', chewing	চোৰা
চৰৰ, court yard	চোতাল

(b) Due to a labial sound in the first or second syllable.

সম, equal	সোঁ (as in সোঁমাজ)
সমায়তে, to be contained	সোমা, enter
নপাৰ, can not	নোৱাৰ
ৰহতী, streaming	ৰোৱতী

(c) Due to general preference of a forward to a backward sound in standard Assamese:—

শটা, matted hair	শোটা, a broom of straw.
মৰ, my (মদঃ)	মোৰ
কৰীক, coconut-shell	কোৰোকা

102. When followed by আ, ই, ঈ, উ, ঊ (ā, i, u) in the second syllable অ, আ (a, ā) in the first syllable change to এ (a) in standard Assamese :—

আঙ্গাৰ, charcoal	এঙ্গাৰ
B. আঁধাৰ, dark (অঙ্ককাৰ)	এঙ্কাৰ
কটাহু, cauldron	কেৰাহী
কৰীৰ the shoot of bamboo*	B. কেকল
গল, to become soft	গেলা, rotten
*কণুলিকা, coil (কুণ্ডলিকা)	কেবেলুৱা the millipede which coils when touched
কতিমান, how much	কেইমান, কিমান
কণুল, ear ornament (কুণ্ডল)	কেক (ল dropped).
ততিক্ষণ, so much time	তেতিক্ষণে > তেখনে
ধলা (ধৰল), white, pale	ধেলা
H. লটাই, hand roller of thread	লেটাই
যতিমান, as much	ষেইমান > ষিমান
B. লম্বা, long	লেঙ্গা, tall
A. ঢউ, wave	B. ঢেউ
ধৰু, a bow	ধেৰু
নকুল, the mongoose	নেউল
নলি, tube	নেলু, the throat.
পঙ্গুল, lame	পেঙ্গুৱা

* কৰীৰ actually means the tusk of elephant which the bamboo-shoot resembles. কৰীৰ is from কৰী (elephant) and ইৰ (tusk). cf. 'ঐৰাৰত', the great tusker of Indra. The word 'ivory' is from ইভ (elephant) and ইৰ (tusk).

বজ্জু, rope	লেজু
লঘুল, tail	নেগুৰ
লঘুক, light	লেহকা, pliant.
B. সবুজ,	সেউজীয়া
A. দহিছে, burns	ডেইছে

103. Two consecutive আ (ā) in the first and second syllables are not tolerated in standard Assamese. In such cases, as a rule, the first আ is reduced to অ or এ. Present writers often ignore this inherent character of the language, and write নালাগে instead of নেলাগে ; স্বাভাবিক instead of স্বভাবিক ; আদা instead of এদা ; etc.

This characteristic of the language is responsible for the difference in the first syllable of the following pairs of words :—

কণা, blind (< কাণা < কাণ), but কাণী (fem).
কলা, deaf (কালা < কল) but কালৰী, (fem).

104. আ (ā) in the third syllable has the effect of reducing an আ (ā) in the first syllable, provided there is no strong vowel in the second syllable.

আঁকৰা, a stupid, becomes অঁকৰা, but আঁকৰী (fem).
আজলা (না) not knowing,

becomes অজলা, but আজলী (fem).
কাজলা dark blue, becomes কজলা but কাজলী (fem).
দামৰা a male calf, becomes দমৰা but দামুৰী (fem).
পাগলা, mad, becomes পগলা but পাগলী (fem).
বাৰতা, news, becomes বতৰা but বাতৰি (dinu).

105. When the suffixes আ, ইয়া, উৰা, and উৰা are added to a word to form an adjective or a verb of it, then the preceding আ (ā) is reduced to অ or ও; and the preceding ও (o) to উ (u).

ভাজ, to fry	+ আ	ভজা, fried
সিজা, to cook	+ আ	সিজোৱা, cooked
আন, to bring	+ আ	অনা, bringing
কাতি, name of a month	+ ইয়া	কতীয়া, born in Kāti month.
কাহ, cough	+ উৰা	কহৰা, affected with cough
খাৰ, alkali	+ উৰা	খকৰা, alkaline
পানী, water	+ ইয়া	পনীয়া, watery
বঁাৰী, widow	+ ইয়া	বঁৰীয়া, born of widow
ফট, fissure		ফটা, split
লোন, salt		লুনীয়া, salty
ঢোল drum		ঢুলীয়া, a drummer
খোৰ, a scroll	+ ইয়া	খুবীয়া, make into a scroll
জোল, liquid		জুলীয়া, liquid

ই, ই (i) and উ, উ (u)

106. These two vowels are interchangeable in all positions. But the language appears to prefer the labial 'u' to the palatal 'i' sound.

অঠীৰৎ, the knee	আঠু
খিদ, to strike	খুট > খোট, to strike with fang or beak.
গিলা, (plural suffix, L. A.)	গুলা, (Mid. A.)
তিংখং, name of a place	তুংখু়ীয়া, belonging to তিংখং

নৰনীত, butter	লৱৰু
Mid. A. নিমা, to be extinguished	হুমা
(cf; “বনৰ নিমাইলা জুট বৃষ্টি জলে” —S.K.D.)	
নৈৰামিষ্য, without meat	নিৰামুহি
*পলীকা, ant (পীলক)	পকৰা
Pk. ফিৰ, to roam about	ফুৰ, walk about
বিপ্রতি, wickedness	উভতি
শিঙ্গ, to smell	শুং
শাল্লি, the silk cotton tree	শিমলু

107. This bias for the উ (u) sound is responsible for changing the Sanskr̥t adjectival suffix —‘ইক’ to ‘উৱা’

জাতীয়, concerning the nation	জতুৱা
জালিক, net thrower	জালোৱা*
তালিক, palm of the hand	তলুৱা
ৰাজসিক, belonging to king স্তৰিতা সেৰিক, attached to wife.	ৰাজহুৱা, belonging to public ভিকৰ্তা সেৰুৱা, henpecked.
হালিক, plough man	হালোৱা*

উৱা, as an adjectival suffix is very popular and is added to nouns to convey various shades of meaning. Eg:—

কুঠুৱা, hard as wood	< কাঠ
ঘৰুৱা, homely	< ঘৰ

* not changed to জলুৱা and হলুৱা lest the meaning is lost.

ততুৰা, great eater of rice. < ভাত

ধৰুৰা, a debtor
etc. etc. < ধৰ

108. The change of উ, (u) to ই, (i) is also not uncommon.

খৰ, white	খৰিমাটি. chalk
তুঙ্গ, summit	টং. peak
পুতেক, his son	পিতেক, (collq)
বালুক, sand	বালি
পৰশ্ব (পৰশ্ব), day-before-yesterday	পৰহি
মহুষ্য, man	মনিষ, (collq) > মুনিষ, male.
স্তৰ্কা, the hip	টিকা, buttocks.
তম্ভ, tent	তামি, (used in Buranji).

109. A following ই, (i) changes a preceding ও (o) to উ (u).

আপোন, self	+ই	আপুনি
কেঁকোৰা, bent	+ই	কেঁকুৰি, the turn of a road
শোভন, beauty	+ই	শুৰনী
কোচ, (a certain caste)	+নী	কুচনী, woman of that caste.
শো, to sleep	+ই	শুই. sleeping
সোত, current	+ই	সুঁতী, streamlet.
প্রতোলী, front road		পদ্মলী
গোধি, iguana		গুঁই

110. When immediately followed by ই, ঈ, উ or ও এ (e) is generally changed to অ, (a).

আলেহী* guest (আৱেশিক)	আলহী
কুহেলিকা, fog	কুৰ্হলী

দেউলি, threshold (দেহলি)	ডলি
দেউল, temple দেৱকুল	দউল, দৌল
or দেহৰ	
মনদেৱী, woman's name	ৰহদৈ
মন্দলা দেৱী, daughter of	
Koch king Parikṣit	মঙ্গলদৈ, name of a place.
দিনেও every day	দিনেৰী
নিতেও always	নিতেৰী

FINAL VOWELS.

111. The vowel অ (a) attached to the last single consonant of a word is dropped, that is, not pronounced, in most cases. Thus, কমল (kamala) is pronounced 'kamal'; প্রমাণ, (pramāṇa) is pronounced 'pramān'; নারায়ণ (Nārāyaṇa) as 'Nārāyan'; etc.

112. With the dropping of the final অ (a) the consonant it supports is also lost:—

আৱেশিক, guest	> আৱেশী (আলহী)
cf. "হাড়িত ভাত নাই নিতে আৱেশী" —Caryāpada	
আফুক, opium	আফু
বৰাহ, boar	বৰা
Mid. A. দেখিয়া, seen	দেখি
শত, hundred	শ
হাসিক, laughter	হাসি

113. The final অ is retained when attached to a conjunct. Eg; অন্ত is pronounced as 'anta' and not as 'ant', as in Hindi.

114. The final অ is also retained at the end of two syllabic *tatsama* words which are not used in spoken language. Eg. গত বৎসৰ (gata batsar), শত অপৰাধ (sata aparādh), গৃহ নিৰ্মাণ (griha nirmāṇ) etc.

In words like শিৰ, থিয়, the final অ is retained so otherwise the words will be unstable.

115. When the last syllable of the original word has already dropped off due to contraction then the অ attached to the penultimate syllable which has become the last syllable, is not dropped.

এগাৰহ (একাদশ)	>	এঘাৰ, (eghāra)
বাৰহ (বাদশ)	>	বাৰ, (bāra)
Mid. A. কৰস, you do	>	কৰ, (kara)
Mid. A. জানস, you know	>	জান (zāna)
কচ্ছপদ (কচ্ছপদ, side-footed)	>	কচ্ছপ > কাছ, (kāsa)
গৰ্দভ < গাদহ	>	গাধ (gādha)
পলৱ. (fishing basket)	>	পল, (pala)
পাৰাৰত > পাৰাৰ	>	পাৰ, (pāra), pigeon

116. Final vowels other than অ are generally retained. There are some words where the final আ has been dropped.

হৃণা, disgust, hate	ধিৰ্ণ
P. গালাহ, heap	গাল্,
জীৱা, water	জীপ্, moisture.
মুদ্রা, seal	মুদ্
	(cf. "মুদ্ ভাতি সকলোকে দিলা;" breaking the seal Sajkardev) gavē (Lord's name) to all—Madhava
সিবা, artery	সিব

117. The language prefers an adjective word to end in আ or ই, ঈ than in অ. Eg.

অত্রপ, shameless	অতপা, impudent.
Pk. কড়ল, cowdung	ক'লা, black.
কল্প, deaf	কলা
কাণ, one-eyed	কণা
H. চনক্ত, bursting of husks etc.	চনকা, brittle
জোং, a spike	জোং, pointed
তংকন, miserable person	টোকোনা, poor
নিষ্ঠ, washed	নিকা, clean
প্রত্য, a drop, a spot	ফেটা, having a mark
P. বদ, bad	বেয়া
P. মদ, male	মতা
বৃন্ত, the foot-stalk of fruit	ভেতা, blunt.
গ্রাম্য, belonging to village	গ্রামা

118. This preference for a final আ in adjective words changed the Sanskrit adjectival suffix ইক—ইট to ইয়া, 'iyā'.

নাগৰিক, town-born	নগৰীয়া
মাসিক, monthly	মাহেকীয়া
সঞ্চিত, stored	সঁচতীয়া
পক্ষীয়, one's own	পুকীয়া, separate

119. The language prefers an abstract noun, a verbal noun and a noun signifying the result of an action to end in **ই** (i).

আমন, listlessness	আমনি, state of ennui.
অৱসৰ, leisure	আহৰি
অজড়িত, not engaged	আজৰি, spare time.
উৎসৱ, festive occasion	হচৰি, merriment in 'Bihu'.
গৰ্জন, roaring	গাজনি
জাক, a flock	জাকি, flight of many birds.
তৎমন, absorbed mentally	টোপনি, sleep.
তৰণ, crossing over	তৰণি, safety, respite.
স্থামন, fixity	থাউনি, stability, bottom.
পাতন, laying	পাতনি, introduction to a book.
বাঢ়ি, to increase	বাঢ়ি, interest on loan.
বুজন, understanding	বুজনি, instruction.
বাপেক, father	বাপেকি, fatherhood
মাক mother	মা-কি, motherhood.
বেলা, time	বেলি, lateness
P. শনাথ্ত্ব, acquainted	চিনাকি. acquaintance (contaminated by চঙ্গ, sign)
সিয়ন, act of sewing	সিয়নি, the seam
হমন্ত, yawning	হামি, a yawn

This **ই** is also added after the Sanskrit suffix **ত্ব** which nouns and adjectives in that language take to form abstract nouns—

খজুত্ত, state of itching	খজুৱতি
পিতৃস্বত্ত, paternal aunthood	পেহীয়তি
মাতৃস্বত্ত, maternal aunthood	মাহীয়তি

শৈশব, mother-in-law-hood শাহৰতি

also by analogy

B. ঘূমন্ত, sleeping ঘূমতি, period of sleep

পাৰত, running ধাউতি, longing

120. In the following abstract nouns we find the ই added to the adjectival suffix আল which is added to nouns to form adjectives.

লৰাল, boyish লৰালি, boyishness

পুৰুষাল, manly পুৰুষালি, manliness

The লি, at the end of these words is isolated and used as an ending implying quality. Eg.

অতপাৰি, shameless অতপালি, excessive
misconduct

বেজি, doctor বেজালি, doctor's profession

ধ্যাম, dirty ধৰ্মালি, playing of boys.

121. ই is also added to a noun or adjective to convey the diminutive sense:—

গাল, a heap (p. গালাহ) গালি, a small heap

ছাল, a cover ছালি, a temporary cover

ডাল, branch of tree ডালি, twig.

তিতিকি, bitter (তিক্ত) তিতিকি, slightly bitter

সৌৰাদি, sweet সুৱাদি, slightly sweet

122. Forming nominal verbs by adding an আ (ই) at the end of a word, noun or adjective is peculiar to the Assamese language.

উতল, boiling up উতলা, bring to boil

গৰম, hot গৰমা, make hot.

তপত, hot	তপতা, make hot.
টোপনি, sleep	টোপনিয়া, go to sleep.
ধূ, spittle	ধূৰা, to spit
ধাৰ, edge of knife	ধৰা, to sharpen
ফেন, foam	ফেনা, to froth
খুৰ, a razor	খুৰা, to shave.

123. Vowels at the end, middle or beginning of a word are sometimes changed to make a new word with a meaning allied to the sense of the original word:—

হুন্দু, mouse	হুন্দা, trap to catch mouse.
খেত, a field (ক্ষেত্র)	খেতি, cultivation.
গছ, tree	গছা, a stand for many lights.
জল, water	জোল, > জুলীয়া, liquid.
জুট, twisted hair	জুটি, trap made of twisted hair.
দাৰা, wife, bride	দৰা, bridegroom
জুৰ, cooling < জড	জিৰা, to take rest.
ফুৰ, walk about	মুৰ ফুৰা, to feel giddy.

CHANGES DUE TO ASSIMILATION.

124. Words are often changed to give them a more familiar sound to the ear:—

কুকুল, a lump of burning grass that rises from forest fires, is changed to 'কুকুহা', (a jungle bird), the same word being used for both. P. নাবালিষ (a minor) changed to 'নাবালক' to assimilate with the familiar word বালক, 'নাবালক' now means a minor.

কোঞ্জীয়, (tepid warm) is changed to কুহমীয়া, to assimilate with কুহম, (yolk of egg).

P. নিশানা, (having the sign of) is changed to নিচিমা, (similar to) because চিনা, means 'recognising'.

পৰোষ্টি, (cockroach) changed to 'পইত্তা চোৰা' which means 'stealer of stale rice', whereas the original word is apparently meaningless. Portuguese 'sontrā' (orange) changed to সুমথিৰা, (সুমিষ্ট)

H. অম্বৰ্দ, (guava) > মধুৰি আম (sweet mangoe).

গুৰুক্তি, (a missile) > কৰমুটি (মুটি means grip).

নাৰিকেল, (coco-nut) > নাৰিকল (plantain is more common)

দুৰ্জয়পুৰ, (capital city of Ratnapala) > তেজপুৰ (তেজ means blood; but দুৰ্জয় is a difficult word.

124(a). The need for differentiating a transitive from an intransitive verb is strongly felt by the speakers of standard Assamese. Hence we get the following pairs of words, whereas the same word is used in Bengal and Lower Assam. Eg; ভাগ (intransitive) and ভাঁ (transitive) to break (ভাঁ) ছিগ, (intransitive) and ছিঃ (transitive) to tear off.

N.B. In many cases the intransitive sense is expressed by adding the word 'খালে' (eaten) to the main verb. Eg; দুৱাৰ মেল খালে, (the door opened of itself); ধিৰিকিথন জাপ গালে (the window shut up of itself) etc.

124(b). Words are also sometimes changed to mean another thing having some relation to the meaning of the original word. Eg;

Pk. অংথুঅ (আস্তুত) means 'bed'. But the derived Assamese word আঁঠুৱা, means the 'mosquito curtain'.

Skt. 'উদ্ধান' means a 'fire place'. But the derived word 'উধান' means the supports of the cooking vessel over the fire.

Skt. 'ৰাণি' means 'weaving' or the 'weaving loom'. In Assamese the same word means 'breadth wise', as against 'দৈঘ' which means 'lengthwise', on the loom.

PHONETIC GLIDES

125. Extra sounds are sometimes introduced at the beginning, middle or end of a word in order to facilitate pronunciation, to adjust the vocal apparatus while passing from one position to another, to fill up a hiatus caused by the loss of a consonant or to close a word with a consonantal click.

126. In the following words which begin with a conjunct containing a sibilant an ষি is inserted at the beginning to adjust the tongue in proper position.

স্কুল, school is pronounced ইস্কুল

চেশ্যন, station ইচেশ্যন

ষ্টাম্প, stamp ইষ্টাম্প

127. য় is inserted while passing from ই, ঈ to অ, আ, এ and ও.

দি, give	+	অন্, (affix)	দিয়ন, act of giving
দি, give	এ,	(affix)	দিয়ে, he gives.
পিঅন, peon			পিয়ন
সি, (he)	ও (also)		সিয়ো

128. র় is introduced while passing from উ, উঁ to অ, আ and এ.

পু, spittle	+	আ	পুৰা, to spit
ধো, to wash	+	আ	ধোৱা, act of washing.
H. বন্ধুআ, captive			বন্ধুৱা, hereditary servant.
শো to sleep	+	অন্	শোৱন, act of sleeping
শোঁ	+	এ	শোৱে, he sleeps.

129. Void caused by the loss of a consonant at the middle or end of a word is filled up with a glide which may be either a semivowel, a liquid or a হ, (h):—

য়, introduced as a glide in
পঅভৰ, trampling

of many feet (পদভৰ)	> পঘোভৰ, pomp.
পিআস, thirst (পিপাসা)	> পিয়াহ
শিআল, jackal (শুগাল)	> শিয়াল
ল, introduced in	

আআস, sky (আকাশ) > আলাস, space, air.

cf. আলাসৰ লাডু (sweets made of air, (airy nothing) also means very delicate.

cf. “আলমুৰা” “আলাসত চাং পাত” means ‘build castle in the air’. Also, ‘আলাসত ফুৰাই পাক হানিলাহা দলি’—swinging him in the air etc.—S.K.D.

ৰ introduced in

কুপ, a well

কুৱা

130. Consonants generally ক (k), র (r), ল (l) are added at the end of a word ending in a vowel to close the word with a consonantal click.

ক is added in:—

আদি, etc. আদিক, (used in
North Bengal)

কিন্তু, but	কিন্তক্	Do
জামু, a berry	জামুক্	
Pk. জোন্হা, moon light	জোনাক্	
In Mid. A. যাইবে, shall go	যাইবেক্	
খাইবে, shall eat	খাইবেক্	
এহুয় > হেন, such like	হেনেক্	
এহুয় > এনে	এনেক্ > এনেকুৱা	
In the same way তেনেক > তেনেকুৱা, যেনেক > যেনেকুৱা		
‘ৱৱা’ being an adjectival suffix added.		

131. র, is added in:—

মেকো, cat (Mongolian)	মেকাৰ, in East Bengal. মেকুৰী, in Assam (fem).
ধ্যাম, to fade,	জামৰ, to abate or shrink.
খাইয়া, having eaten	খাইয়াৰ, (in East Bengal
দিবো, I will give	দিবোৰ, (in Mid. B.)
দেখনীয়া, worth seeing	দেখনিয়াৰ
মগনীয়া, beggar	মগনিয়াৰ
ভগনীয়া, refugee	ভগনিয়াৰ
খোজনীয়া, one who asks alms	খোজনিয়াৰ
শিয়া, roots (শিকা)	শিয়াৰ
শমা, ploughing (শম্ব)	শমাৰ, ploughing a second time

132. **ল**, added after the words:—

Mid. A. ছৱা, young of

an animal (শাৱ) ছৱাল, (boy) ছোৱালী, (girl)

তেজা, bloody তেজাল, fullblooded.

East. B. পোৱা, young of পোৱালী, calf.

an animal (পোত)

ফৰ্কা, clear, fair (H. ফটা) ফৰকাল, clear.

ভিতৰৰা, relating to

interior

ভিতৰৰাল

ভেক, frog

ভেকোলা, ভেকুলী

মৰমীয়া, affectionate

মৰমিয়াল

H. মুখীয়া, chief (মুখ্য)

মুখিয়াল, of leadership

মাজুলীয়া, islander

মাজুলিয়াল

লাগতিৱা, useful

লাগতিয়াল

মুখ, mouth

মুখাল, having a sharp
tongue.

133. When a vowel is added to a vowel at the end of a word, a consonant comes in between them as a glide.

ৰ, comes in—

কাঅ, a crow (কাক) + ঈ কাউৰী, (fem.)

়. কালা, deaf + ঈ কালৰী, (fem.)

অং, half + উৱা আধকৰা, by half.

ডিক, grown up + ঈ ডেকেৰী, (fem.)

নাও, boat + ঈয়া নাওৰীয়া, নারৰীয়া boat man

পলা, flee + ঈয়া পলৰীয়া, fugitive.

ভাও, acting on stage ভাওৰীয়া, ভাৱৰীয়া, actor

134. ৰ comes in—

গাঁও, village + ঈ়ৱা	গাঁও়ী়ৱা belonging to village গাঁও়ী়ৱা
মিছা, a lie + ঈ়ৱা	মিছী়ৱা, liar
মজ, middle + ঈ়ৱা	মজলী়ৱা, of the middle

135. When a consonant is added to a consonant at the end of a word, a vowel comes in as glide.

কোচ, (koc) a class of men	+ নী (fem.)	কুচনী
ডোম, (dom) class of men	+ নী (fem.)	ডুমনী
নাপিত্, (nāpit) barber	+ নী (fem.)	নাপিতনী
কমাৰ, (kamār) smith	+ নী (fem.)	কমাৰনী
চোৰ, (cor) thief	+ নী (fem.)	চুৰনী
ভূত, (bhut) ghost	+ নী (fem.)	ভূতনী

136. In the following words ঈ়ৱা or উৱা is added to words ending in consonants. No glide comes in :—

বনৰ, of forest	+ ঈ়ৱা >	বনৰী়ৱা
বাটৰ, of the road	+ উৱা >	বাটকৱা
হাটৰ, of the market	+ উৱা >	হাটকৱা
বিজ্ঞাতৰ, of low caste	+ ঈ়ৱা >	বিজ্ঞতৰী়ৱা
আগত (হোৱা), at the beginning	+ ঈ়ৱা >	আগতী়ৱা, happening early.
শেহত (হোৱা), at the end	+ ঈ়ৱা >	শেহতী়ৱা, happening late.
ঘৰত (থকা), at home	+ ঈ়ৱা >	ঘৰতী়ৱা, domestic
তলত (থকা) under	+ ঈ়ৱা >	তলতী়ৱা, subordinate

137. Sometimes a consonant comes in as a glide to combine with a nasal of its own class, either in the middle or end of a word:—

ত, দ, combines with ন:—

খান্, dig	> খান্
ক্ষণেক্, one moment	> ক্ষণেক্
বানৰ, monkey	> বানৰ
পীন্, to swell	> ফিন্
ফান্, hair of horse tail	> ফান্, snare made of horse tail hair.

ড combines with ণ:—

গোনা, bull	> গোণা > বোনা, male
দ্রোগকাক	> চোঙাকাক, Mid. A.

ব, combines with ম:—

আচমিত, (চমৎকৃত)	আচমিত, suddenly
সমায়, enters	সমায় cf; “মোৰ কানে নাসমায় তোৰ এ দৃষ্টি বানী”—শ্রীকৃষ্ণ কীভুন

It is therefore highly probable that the Accusative or Objective case-ending ক (k) in most of the modern Indian languages is but a glide that comes in to combine with the 'anuswara' at the end of nouns and pronouns in the Accusative Case. Subsequently the 'anuswara' was dropped, leaving the ক alone as the Accusative Case-ending. This ক took different forms; eg, কে, কু, কো, ক. The following examples are in the Accusative Case.

হাম্ > (Apa)	তুমাঃ > তুমাঙ্ক > তোমাক (you)
তং >	তাঙ্ক > তাক, (him)

গৃহং > ঘৰক	> ঘৰক যাওঁ, we go home
ৰামং > ৰামক	> ৰামক, ৰামকে

In Oriya the 'anuswar' is often retained; eg, সেমানঁকু, (them) < সেমানং. At present scholars differ as to the origin of the Accusative ক, According to some it is derived from কঙ্ক, (side). Others are of opinion that it is derived from the Genitive ক in Hindi and কেৰ in M.I.A. But none of these theories appear very satisfactory.

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